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Papers on Palestine II

A COLLECTION OF ARTICLES BY LEADING AUTHORITIES DEALING WITH THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

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PAMPHLET NUMBER 5

Issued by
The Institute of Arab American Affairs, Inc.
160 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

MAY, 1947

Price One Dollar

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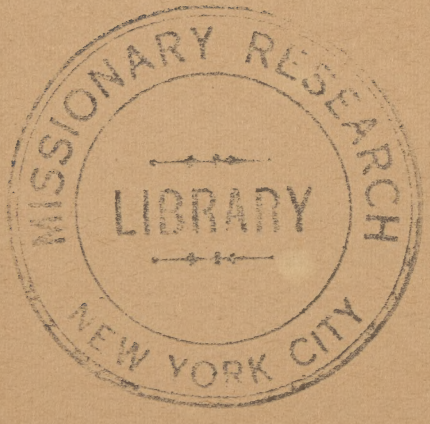
Papers on Palestine I O.P. 7/47 VV

This Booklet is affectionately dedicated to the memory of Dr. Fuad I. Shatara in recognition of his devoted zeal, far-sighted leadership and most unselfish service to the Arab cause.



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FOREWORD

IT gives me pleasure to commend these papers on Palestine to American readers. Fortunately some of them have already appeared in prominent periodicals and have been widely read. It is to be hoped that this pamphlet will bring them to the attention of many additional thousands. For one of the most urgent needs of our country today is knowledge of the actual conditions and problems in the Near and Middle East.

President Truman's recent message to Congress urging immediate aid to Greece and Turkey has abruptly and dramatically revealed to the public the critical importance for the welfare of the world in general, and of the United States in particular, of this troubled area at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Most Americans are highly surprised to learn of the grave responsibility of our country towards the problems of that region. Unfortunately they are nearly all lamentably ignorant of the facts lying behind these problems. We must immediately do everything we can to remedy this dangerous ignorance.

Papers on Palestine II is a useful contribution towards this effort. For American ignorance about the forty million Arabs who for many centuries have lived in the Near and Middle East is especially dense. The vast majority of Americans are quite unfamiliar with the glories of the Arab past. They are unaware of the learning, culture and enlightenment which the Arabs passed on long ago to a darkened Europe and to which our Western civilization remains deeply indebted. They are even ignorant of the fact that the "Arab Awakening" of recent years was due partly to the stimulus and fertilization given by American teachers and American colleges in the Near East, especially by the great American University of Beirut in Lebanon.

The friendly bond thus created should not be sacrificed now. We must make great efforts to rebuild

that sympathetic understanding between the Arab peoples and the Americans which is at this moment seriously impaired. To this end facts and intelligent discussion of the Palestine problem are particularly important.

For it is regarding Palestine especially that lack of knowledge has caused confusion and misunderstanding. Great numbers of Americans have mixed up in their minds their natural and profound sympathy for the homeless Jews of today with the proposal for the establishment of a Jewish political state in Palestine. A few Americans have sought to evade our own responsibility for these Jews by pushing them all into Palestine. And most unfortunately this tragic question has been at some points a sort of political football in our national and local partisan campaigns.

Papers on Palestine II will help Americans to think more clearly and wisely on this conflict which is now spreading out from the Holy Land and dangerously shaking an already unstable world.

VIRGINIA C. GILDERSLEEVE

March 20, 1947

PREFACE

As the Palestine question seems to be moving to a climax there is a greater need than ever of presenting the Arab side before American public opinion. One of the great functions of the United Nations, before which the Palestine question is destined to be laid for discussion, is the chance it affords for a much wider discussion through the press, radio, lecture platforms and ordinary day to day conversation. Two years ago the Institute of Arab American Affairs published its first *Papers on Palestine,* which consisted of testimonies before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, and a few articles and letters to the press. This has long been out of print.

Since then, several articles by able writers have brought out the fundamental issues of the Palestine controversy and in so doing have thrown light on the justice of the Arab side. The Institute had some of these articles in mind when it entitled the leading article of its Bulletin for September 15, 1946 "The Tide Is Turning." In bringing together these articles and others, in *Papers on Palestine II,* we feel that we are serving the cause of humanity, justice and democracy as seen through the eyes of American and English writers and thinkers of note who speak with knowledge and conviction. In the case of some, this knowledge is thorough and intimate, based on first-hand experience and long residence in the Arab lands; in the case of others their studied judgement reflects an earnest concern in the new world which we are fashioning. However, the Institute wishes to point out that the views expressed here by these distinguished writers are their own and not necessarily those of the Institute.

As more light is thrown on the case of Palestine, the Arab stand will be justified in the eyes of all friends of universal justice and world peace. In this spirit, and not merely as Americans of Arabic-speaking extrac-

tion, the Institute of Arab American Affairs extends its deep gratitude to the authors of the articles herein included, and to the publications in which they first appeared for their kind permission to reproduce them in this pamphlet. The Institute also wishes to thank the distinguished members of its Advisory Board, whose wise counsels and generous interest in furthering Arab American relations have been a source of hope and inspiration to the Institute. Miss Virginia Gildersleeve, noted American educator and retiring Dean of Barnard College, Columbia University, who graciously consented to write the foreword to this booklet speaks the mind of millions of Americans who, if all the facts were before them, would unhesitatingly support the cause of Arab liberty and independence. Through her, we wish to thank all Americans who have shown the courage to come out in defense of justice and liberty abroad.

I

THE ZIONIST ILLUSION

By W. T. STACE

[*A landmark in the flood of articles, editorials and discussions centering around Palestine is the penetrating article written by Professor W. T. Stace in the February issue of ATLANTIC MONTHLY. W. T. Stace has been a professor of philosophy at Princeton University since 1932 and is at present a visiting lecturer at Harvard. He is considered an authority on the philosophy of Hegel and is the author of seven philosophical books and a number of articles in current journals. In introducing him, ATLANTIC MONTHLY said, "W. T. Stace is a philosopher who knows by experience the problems of the civil servant. On his graduation from Trinity College, Dublin, he entered the British civil service in Ceylon and served for a time as the mayor of Colombo. Then the urge of the pen became irresistible and he resigned to resume his studies and his writing."*]

Palestine is a little country. But what is being done in Palestine is symptomatic of the entire state of the world. It is the methods of settlement being used in Palestine, rather than the particular settlement which may be reached, to which I wish to direct attention. These methods, I will try to show, are disastrous; and if we persist in using them elsewhere in the world—and there is every indication that we shall—the result can only be violence and war.

So far as World War II had a moral issue, it concerned the question whether international relations are to be governed by force or by law. Law means the application of principles of justice to disputes. So the issue is really between force and justice. We have swung out of the war, and we suppose that justice has defeated force. But are we, now in peacetime, pursuing the methods of justice or the methods of force? On the answer depends the future of the world, the issue of war or peace. It is better to take a particular current case and analyze it in detail, to find out what the trend is, than to make general statements. Palestine is an excellent testing ground.

Men's opinions on political and international questions are

almost always formed on the basis of their emotions and partisan feelings, and scarcely at all on the basis of reason. This is the prime cause of the wars and bloodshed which fill the world. For emotion and partisan feeling, untempered by reason, issue necessarily in violence. Reason is the principle of democracy and justice. It weighs the issues impartially in the balance. A competent judge reaches a decision by *arguing* the case, not by flying off the handle about it. Reason, not emotion, much less self-interest, must be his guide. Not until men learn to govern their opinions and actions in international affairs by unbiased and impartial justice, based on reason, will wars end.

Palestine is a case in point. Not only are Jews and Arabs inflamed by passions, which they call patriotism, but the greater nations concerned, who at least ought to be impartial, are making no attempt to judge the dispute between Jews and Arabs impartially. Instead each of them is concerned with self-interest, and they have made of the question either a struggle for national power or, worse still, a catch-bag for votes for a particular domestic party.

Any attempt to apply to Palestine the rule of justice is fraught with grave difficulties. In the first place, it is met with a solid wall of prejudices. Apart from that, the very attempt is decried. Since justice is a moral concept, one cannot consider it without raising questions of "right" and "wrong." Then the cry is raised that one is talking academically, that one is trying to settle practical questions by "abstract" moral rules which have no application and are not "realistic." But how else is the world ever to advance to any sort of international justice—an avowed aim of the UN inserted in its charter at the instance of Americans—except by applying to concrete situations principles which are in themselves abstract? The principles which law courts apply to men's actions are, as stated in lawbooks and statutes, abstract; and further, they are, in the last analysis, the product of "moral" ideas.

The scene in Palestine shifts so rapidly that it may seem impossible to say anything about it which will not become out of date in a month. But the principles of law and justice do not change, or at least change very slowly. Now the main principle of international justice is that which was laid down in the Atlantic Charter. Nations should have the right of determining their internal affairs without aggression from outside nations. This

is nothing new, invented by Roosevelt or Churchill. It was implicit in Wilson's policy and pronouncements. It was the idea on which the League of Nations was supposed to be built. It has always been, for that matter, the fundamental idea of democracy. For the self-determination or democracy of a nation means that its affairs are governed by the wishes of its own people. And since the wishes of a people are never unanimous, it means in practice that they are governed by the wishes of the majority.

That one nation should by force or threats compel another nation to act contrary to its own will, or contrary to the wishes of the majority of its people, is "aggression." It is contrary to the principles of justice, democracy, and self-determination in their external or international application. That a minority within a nation should forcibly impose its will on the majority—this is likewise aggression, but is generally called "tyranny." It is the negation of the principles of justice, democracy, and self-determination in their internal or domestic application. This is the only "abstract" or "moral" principle which is needed for the adjudication of the Palestine controversy. And no changes in the local scene, nothing in the kaleidoscope of shifting events, will alter it. It will not be outdated a year from now or in fifty years. How does it apply to the controversy between Jews and Arabs?

The Arab case is, in essence, this. The Arabs constitute a large majority of the inhabitants of Palestine. This is not only true now but it has been true since somewhere near the beginning of the Christian era—that is to say, for nearly two thousand years. The Arabs in Palestine are opposed, rightly or wrongly, to any mass immigration of Jews. Therefore the majority of the inhabitants of Palestine are opposed to such a mass immigration. But according to the principle of self-determination, which is the accepted principle of international justice, the affairs of a country must be governed by the wishes of the majority of its inhabitants, and any attempt of an outside country to override by force the wishes of such a majority is "aggression." Therefore the actions of Zionists, of Great Britain, and of America, in seeking to force on Palestine a mass immigration of Jews contrary to the wishes of the Arab majority, constitute acts of aggression and are contrary to the principles of international justice, self-determination, and democracy.

It will not do to answer that the Arab majority in Palestine

is acting "wrongly" in objecting to Jewish immigration, or that, owing to the sufferings of the Jewish people, the Arabs "ought" to welcome them. For according to the principle of justice quoted, it is the majority of the people of Palestine themselves who are entitled to decide what they ought to do. That is the essence of the principle. Our attempt to tell them what they ought to do, and to impose our opinion in the matter by force or threats, constitutes aggression.

We can see this principle more clearly if we apply it in a case nearer home. The majority of the inhabitants of the United States object to the mass immigration of non-Caucasian peoples, and they exclude such peoples by law. Suppose some outside nation were sufficiently powerful to try to force the United States to admit non-Caucasian immigrants in hundreds of thousands against our will. We should certainly regard this as an act of aggression, notwithstanding that a good case might be made out for saying that our objection to non-Caucasian peoples is "wrong." We must therefore allow to the majority of the inhabitants of Palestine the same right of determining such questions of right and wrong for themselves as we claim for the majority of the inhabitants of the United States.

It might be argued that although the democratic doctrine of majority rule applies very well to a country with a reasonably homogeneous population, like England or the United States, it cannot be applied in a country in which a permanent religious or racial minority is faced by a hostile and permanent racial or religious majority, as is the case in Palestine, and also in India. It is true that such a situation creates grave difficulties for democratic government. It may be used as an argument for partition or for what has been called in India "communal representation." It shows that in applying democratic principles to such a country some special arrangement must be devised to protect the minority from oppression. But I do not see how these considerations, though they may prove the necessity of special constitutional devices, can affect the question before us. It cannot be argued that since majority rule is difficult in the absence of a homogeneous population, therefore minority rule ought to be allowed to apply, at any rate in some particular cases such as immigration laws. And this is what the argument we are considering would amount to. This objection to the Arab case must therefore be dismissed.

Thus it will be seen that the Arab case rests squarely on the admitted principles of international justice. It is a direct application of them to Palestine. And the logic of the argument appears on the face of it conclusive and unanswerable. Let us see, however, what case the Zionists can make against it.

The Zionist case rests upon five main arguments. They are not usually tabulated and kept distinct. They are, like most arguments on most subjects, often presented to the public mixed together in a confused heap. But if they are to be properly analyzed and assessed, they must be kept separate and taken up for consideration one by one. Any other procedure can only result in muddled thinking.

The first argument is that Palestine was a Jewish land in ancient times. It was for long ages the national land and home of the Jews. It may reasonably be said to have "belonged" to the Jews. Moreover, they did not leave it of their own free will. They were forcibly dispossessed. And this gives them a claim to re-enter it now and to make of it again a national home.

What force, if any, is there in this contention? The question can only be answered after we have first decided what are the grounds of right by which *any* nation can claim the country which it occupies. The answer is clear. No nation has any right to the land it occupies except long possession. What right have Americans to live in, occupy, and control these United States? No right whatsoever except the fact that they have actually lived here for two or three hundred years. It is true that there were cases of so-called purchase from the Indians. But no one will claim that the general right of the American people to occupy this country is founded on such purchases. By and large we just seized the land by any means that seemed at the time most convenient. The Indians were, in most cases, forcibly dispossessed. The American claim is thus based on what lawyers call long possession or "prescription."

The same is true of every other people in the world. In most cases there was not even the pretense of purchase which we find in America. The British, the French, the Germans, the Japanese, the Zulus, have no claim to the countries in which they live except long possession.

Judged by this principle, which is the only possible principle to apply, the Arabs have a far better claim to Palestine than the Americans have to America. For they have effectively occupied

the country for nearly two thousand years. There may have been always a small Jewish minority in Palestine, just as there has been in America a small Indian minority from the time of its white occupation until now. This would give the Jews in Palestine a right to vote and to proper treatment, just as it gives the same rights to Indians in America. But that is all.

These considerations make it clear that the fact that Palestine was a Jewish land in ancient times cannot possibly give Jews a right of mass entry there now. No matter how a people came originally into possession of a country, whether by aggression, war, or in any other way, we have *in the end*—that is to say, after a sufficiently long period—to admit their exclusive right to it, which means of course that all prior claims are extinguished. For that is the only basis on which any people can ever claim the country which it inhabits. What is a "sufficiently long period"? Certainly two thousand years is. Thus the first Zionist argument is entirely without force.

The second argument is that Palestine has for the Jews a peculiarly sacred religious significance. Can we admit religious feelings as giving any sort of claim to mass immigration into a country? Would we allow such a claim in any other case? Obviously not. Thailanders could not assert a right to migrate into India because they are Buddhists and India, where the Buddha was born and lived, has a special religious significance for them. And Britishers and Americans, who are Christians, could not claim a right of mass settlement in Palestine on the ground that it has for them, just as much as for the Jews, a deep religious significance. "Oh, but Thailanders, Englishmen, and Americans have already national homes of their own, whereas the Jews are homeless. And therefore the cases are not parallel." But this is an example of the muddled thinking which comes of mixing distinct arguments together. The question whether the homelessness of the Jews in any way alters the case is a separate question which I will consider in its place.

The third Zionist argument is that the British Government in 1917 promised the Jews that they should have a national home in Palestine. A moral claim is here based on the general principle of the sanctity of promises. On this ground the Arab claim to self-determination and the Jewish claim under the Balfour Declaration have been described by a British commission as "fundamentally a conflict of right with right." This is a very interest-

ing piece of muddleheadedness. It admits, in the first place, that moral criteria of "right" and "wrong" should have application to the controversy. This is correct. It admits, secondly, that the Arab claim is based on the principle of self-determination and is therefore "right." This is also correct. It implies, thirdly, that the Zionist claim based on the British promise, gives the Jews a moral right. But all this last suggestion proves is that the royal commissioners were grossly incompetent as ethical analysts. The position here taken is widely accepted because neither the average Zionist, nor the average man of any sort, nor —it now appears—the average royal commissioner, is capable of making more than the first step in such an analysis. They think "promises ought to be fulfilled, and the recipients of promises have a moral right to demand their fulfillment. Therefore the Jews in this case have such a right."

This is a crude piece of ethical analysis. Wrong and unjust promises ought not to be carried out and give no rights to demand that they be executed. For instance, you cannot claim a moral right to enforce a promise to steal. And if you do, you are an accessory to the theft. Therefore the question which has now to be asked is whether the British had any right to make promises about the disposal of Palestine contrary to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants of that country. It is plain that, according to the principles of democracy and self-determination, which are the accepted principles of international justice, they had not. Their action in doing so was an act of aggression. Therefore the Balfour Declaration gives Zionists no moral claim, and if they insist on its fulfillment, they are accessories to aggression.

We now come to the question whether the homelessness of the Jews, to which we must add the frightful sufferings which they have undergone and are undergoing, the persecutions, the pogroms, and all the other horrors, can be made the basis of a claim to mass immigration into Palestine. We may list this as the fourth Zionist contention.

No humane person can view these facts without profound feelings of pity and shame—pity for the victims, shame for the cruelty and wickedness of our human kind. But we have to ask what moral claims can be founded upon it. There arises, most certainly, a claim to generous treatment by every country in the world. But just because the facts yield an *equal* claim

against all civilized countries (except that the claim is stronger against those countries which have been most responsible for the sufferings), they cannot yield any *special* claim against Palestine. The claim is against England, America, Russia, France, and Palestine too (if Palestine is a humane and civilized country), but not more against Palestine than any other country.

In domestic law we should at once admit this principle. If an individual citizen of a country is homeless, oppressed, and starving, he has a claim to be rescued from these conditions. But the claim is against the community as a whole, not against any individual private citizen (unless it is this citizen who has wrongfully caused his misery). His condition does not give him a claim to make his home in the house of Mr. Smith or Mr. Jones or to demand food from them. Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones have indeed duties and responsibilities in the matter, but only as members of the community, along with and equally with all other citizens. Thus too humanity at large has a plain duty to find a solution to the Jewish problem and to put an end to the persecutions and misery of the Jews. But the solution is not Palestine. What the proper solution is I shall discuss later. What the considerations which have just been adduced show is that the fourth argument of the Zionists has no more force than the others. It is what lawyers call a "plea ad misericordiam."

The last argument commonly put forward for Zionism is the fact that Jewish immigrants into Palestine have already enormously improved the country, and that further immigration will result in further benefits to it. This fact is to be admitted, and it is unnecessary to go into any details here regarding the economic and cultural improvements made in Palestine by the Jews. They are well known. The question to be asked is whether they constitute a valid argument for Zionism.

The hole in the argument is that it can be used to justify almost any aggression whatever—at any rate, any aggression by an advanced and highly civilized nation against a more backward one. Hitler might have argued that he would run France, England, and even America more efficiently than the present rulers of those countries. And the claim might not be entirely lacking in truth. He might have argued—and indeed did—that his conquests would in the end benefit the world. And if we consider such claims in this case fantastic, consider some others. The British have always justified their position in India by the bene-

fits which they have brought to it. And this claim to have improved the country is, in spite of Congress Party propaganda, true in some respects even if it is not true in others. Mussolini justified his conquest of Ethiopia by claiming that he would abolish slavery and introduce in general more civilized modes of life. And there can be little doubt that he would in fact have done so, given time.

These are all no doubt highly controversial cases. But the principle is clear. A highly civilized people, by conquering a backward people, will nearly always improve their country. And therefore, if this argument justifies Zionism, it will justify any aggression of a more civilized against a more backward people. And this we cannot admit without undermining and in the end destroying the conception of international justice to which we profess to adhere. Moreover, if we accept that conception, we cannot deny that peoples (which means in fact the majorities in any people) have a right to run their own affairs badly and to resist all attempts by foreigners to run them well.

There is indeed a danger of becoming academic here. Perhaps it was "wrong" for Caesar to subjugate the Gauls. But can we really regret that the Pax Romana civilized Europe? Perhaps we did "wrong" to rob the Indians of their country. But would it have been "right" for a sprinkling of half-civilized people to exclude forever from this vast continent those who were more competent than they were to make use of its opportunities?

Nevertheless it seems to me that the principle that a people have a right to force an entry into another country if they can show they are improving it—which is the real basis of the Zionist contention, though this is not the way they put it—is so dangerous in the present state of the world that is ought not to be allowed. It is better to err on the side of overzealousness against aggression, and to refuse to countenance even what might be regarded as a sort of justifiable aggression—what a dangerous phrase!—than to adopt into our philosophy of international relations a principle which can be so easily twisted to justify any aggression or any war whatsoever.

The analysis of the case for Zionism and the case against it which has been given seems to me absolutely indisputable on any ground of logic. Minor mistakes may have been made in the presentation of the matter. And it is always possible to catch at sentences or expressions and find fault with them. But the logic

of the case as a whole is too clear for any error in the general conclusion that, in the dispute between Jew and Arab, the Arab claim is correct and the Zionist claim is without any foundation. This is the inevitable conclusion to which an impartial judge would come.

Of course, it will be violently disputed, but disagreement will be based on prejudice, emotion, or partisan feeling. Let the Zionist who is angered, or contemptuous, at what has been said examine his own mind and ask himself whether *he* is free from prejudice, emotion, and partisan feeling, whether his own opinions have been based on an *impartial* analysis of the two sides to the case. And if he asks how he can be expected to be impartial in a matter in which he and his own people are concerned as in a matter of life and death, one must answer with what is no doubt a hard saying: impartiality as between oneself and another, as between one's own claims and those of another, is the essence of justice and morality, is the only way in which one can act justly towards others in this world.

But the unhappy condition of the Jews in Europe gives them, as we have seen, an equal claim on all the civilized nations of the world. Hence the true solution of the problem stares one in the face. All the underpopulated countries in the world—Australia, Canada, parts of the United States, Palestine itself, and others—ought to amend their immigration policies so as to take, each one, its proper share, according to available empty space, of those who need asylum. This is obviously the only solution which is just to all parties, which no one can say is a violation of their rights. Why then is this solution not being adopted by the statesmen of the world? Why, though the obligation of all countries to take in the refugees if they have empty spaces is recognized in the recent Anglo-American report, is it soft-pedaled there and the immigration of Jews into Palestine played up? Why has it received almost no attention and no discussion?

It is true that President Truman expressed his intention to ask the Congress to increase the immigration quota for refugees, including Jews. But this is not accompanied by any recognition that along these lines alone lies the only just solution of the Jewish problem. It is not accompanied by an abandonment of the policy of injustice in Palestine. It does not fundamentally alter the situation. And we have to repeat our question why, though we give this grudging and doubtful recognition to the

claims of the just solution, we throw all our weight on the side of the unjust solution. If we find the true answer to this question, we put our finger on what is rotten in the world today, on what is certainly destined to make the future of the world a nightmare of war, on what makes nonsense of all our peace efforts. The answer is that we, the inhabitants of the United States, of Canada, of Australia, of Great Britain, of the rest of the countries concerned, do not want to admit our own plain moral obligations in the matter. We do not want to take our fair share of the burden. We have found a small country, Palestine, and a remote and defenseless people, the Arabs, on whom we can unjustly shove the burden of our duties.

It is often said that the Jews themselves hunger to go to Palestine and do not want, most of them, to go to other countries. True enough. But we must not suppose that this is any argument for the justice of the Zionist claim. Since when has it become a principle of justice that in a dispute regarding property or anything else the strong desire of one of the parties to have whatever is in dispute gives him a claim to it? What people want proves only that they want it, not that they are in justice entitled to have it. And if the nations concerned make it plain that Palestine will be asked to take only its proper share of refugees, along with the other nations of the world, and stand firmly by this decision, the Jews in Europe will go gladly enough to America, Canada, or any other country that will treat them decently. And if these countries give the passionate wish of the Jews to go to Palestine as a *reason* for not lowering their own immigration barriers, this is no more than a hypocritical excuse.

The real cause of the reluctance of these countries to lower their immigration barriers lies elsewhere. When Mr. Bevin said that America was pressing Britain to allow more Jews into Palestine because we do not want to allow them into America, his remark was greeted with a howl of execration. Naturally, since the truth hit home and exposed our wickedness and hypocrisy! But his observation is just as true of the British Empire as it is of the United States. We have to face the plain truth, however unpleasant it may be,—however shameful if you like,—that none of the great nations want these refugees, and they are therefore attempting to thrust them on a little Arab country. And the reason why America in particular tries to force the pace, while Britain hangs back, is simply that the Jewish vote is powerful

in America while Arab influence is important to the British Empire.

But this whole line of thought, it will be said, is not practical politics. It is not "realistic." The United States and the British Empire refuse to lower their barriers sufficiently to solve the problem and it is not of the least use trying to persuade them to do so or to adopt the solution of the Jewish problem here recommended. Therefore the only solution left is Palestine. It may be so. The practical politicians ought to know. But what I want to point out is that their "practical" and "realistic" kind of politics is what leads to war and what will inevitably lead to war again, not only in Palestine but throughout the world.

Do we want peace or don't we? If we do, then there is only one way to get it. We have to cease deciding international issues by considerations of vote-catching, self-interest, power, greed, prejudice, passion, and more or less base emotions disguised under the name of patriotism. We have to begin to decide them impartially by reason and the principles of justice.

This is the real lesson of Palestine. It is not an isolated issue. It touches the future of the whole world. Just as Guernica was a testing ground for German and Italian methods of war, so Palestine is the testing ground of our peace policies. Our methods there, our whole emotional and irrational approach to the problem, expose the hollowness and futility of our protestations about peace.

II

PALESTINE

THE REAL NEED OF THE JEWS IS NOT FOR A "HOMELAND" BUT FOR A BETTER WORLD

[EDITORIAL FROM LIFE]

[*The appearance in LIFE of an editorial entitled simply "Palestine" on August 19th, 1946 is a landmark in the trend of American journalism towards a better understanding of the Arab point of view in the Palestine controversy. The significance of this article lies as much in the fact that this popular American illustrated magazine prints more than four million copies every week, as in its directness and fearlessness. A second editorial under the heading "Send Them Here!" appeared in the September 23rd issue. In it LIFE bitterly criticized the prevailing American attitude against the admission of immigrants in any sizable number into the United States and urged the American people and Government to open the gates to the "tired" and "huddled masses" from the other side of the Atlantic. The first of these articles is here reproduced.* Copyright *Time, Inc.*, 1946, Reprinted by Permission from *LIFE* Magazine, August 19.]

IN A WORLD UNUTTERABLY WEARIED of seeing people pushed around there is an understandable, though wishful, tendency to believe in some easy solution for the problem of Europe's homeless Jews. The notion is being broadcast that the solution is merely to let 100,000 more Jews into Palestine where they can be cared for by their own people. Thus they would be lifted from the world conscience. It is also suggested that in a true, independent Jewish state, not just a "Home," the Children of Israel would continue to build out of arid wastes a land of hydroelectric milk and industrial honey so rich and so charming as to attract and provide for all unwanted Jews.

The Zionists are superb organizers; they are also religious idealists, with all the virtues—and some of the blind spots—of zealots throughout history. It could only be wished they had the right answers. But they haven't.

It is hard to say this, not only because of the immense humanitarian efforts of the Zionists, but also because the situation is

so tense and so full of domestic and international emotions and bitterness that is has almost become impossible to express an honest dispassionate opinion. Yet the time has plainly come for some blunt American speaking. The U. S. must adopt a Palestine policy and hold to it.

SOME REALITIES

Since British withdrawal from Egypt, Palestine is the chief Middle East military base for protection of the Empire "life lines." Britain's interests in the Middle East are much what they have been for a century and a half. As the British themselves describe it,

> "The area should be peaceful; it should be well disposed toward Britain and no other Great Power should gain a predominant position there."

We have no reason to suppose Britain will lightly abandon this policy now, either by affronting the Arabs or by relinquishing a key defense position and a gateway to the Middle East's oil, on which Britain so acutely depends.

Furthermore, until there is a more settled world and one in which the need for lifelines is far less obvious, British policy is generally the one most acceptable to the U. S. We can "advise" and we can "consult," as we do, but until we are ready to adopt a firm Middle East policy of our own and to enforce it with our own boys, we are in a poor position to say and do things that will spill British blood.

The difficulty the Jews face, both as to immediate immigration and as to the long-range dream of a homeland, is primarily with the Arabs. Specifically, it is with the 1,000,000 Arabs in Palestine, but generally it is with the 50,000,000 Arab population of the Middle East, now banded together in the Arab League and threatening that if they fail to obtain justice in London they will turn to Moscow.

The differences between the Jews and the Arabs are such they can scarcely be understood unless one is an Arab or a Jew. The present obvious nub of friction is simply that the Jews in Palestine have come to enjoy a much higher standard of living than their Arab neighbors.

This view of the matter was reaffirmed only last spring by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry as a part of its long report on Palestine. This report also urged that 100,000 of the

Jews currently in assembly camps in Germany and Austria—and most of them in or trying to get into the American zones—should be immediately and humanely transported to Palestine. The Arabs' response was such that Britain's Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin estimated that it would require dispatch of a British division and expenditure of $800,000,000 to effect the immigration. So he rejected the proposal.

WHERE WE ARE

When President Truman insists, in the face of British objections that the 100,000 Jews be let in at once, he may have a nervous eye on the Jewish vote. But the President should approach it with the same bipartisan strategy he employed when the United Nations was organized at San Francisco. Otherwise the Palestine question, by becoming the price of a Zionist-led Jewish vote could enter our politics in such a way that an entire national election might turn on how a few New Yorkers feel about an entirely extraneous issue. That wouldn't go down so well in Oklahoma.

In the meantime, blocked from orderly entry, the Jews have opened an extensive underground railway to Palestine in an effort to elude the British by day and the Arabs by night. The terrorist group known as Irgun Zvai Leumi blew up British headquarters in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem last month, killing 91 (*LIFE*, Aug. 12). This led to retaliatory restrictive measures, so that Britain and Zion are virtually at war today. Yet the Zionists must realize that the British through the years, have been their truest friends and that removal of the Tommies now would probably result in the Arabs' quickly pushing the Jews into the sea. This is what spoils the analogy between modern Palestine and the Ireland of 25 years ago. Even Ben Hecht has overworked that one; in writing his new Zionist play he thought of himself in the role of Synge and O'Casey.

With all this turmoil, efforts to find a solution have not made much progress. The British now propose to partition Palestine, retaining a military zone near the Suez for themselves and giving the Jews most of the fertile coast and the Arabs the bulk of the inland area. Both the Jews and the Arabs reject this scheme.

Another solution advanced is for the U. S. to undertake social, educational and public works for the Arabs, bringing them by forced nurturing up to Jewish living standards. The picture, then,

something out of Walt Disney, would be of Zionists pouring money into one part of Palestine and the U. S. pouring it into another in a mad race to see who could make the most out of a normally inhospitable bit of Mother Earth.

WHERE DO WE GO?

It is clear that the immigration of the 100,000 Jews still in camp cannot really be decided until the central problem of Palestine's future is answered. To admit 100,000 more Jews—almost one fifth of the total Jews already there—without provision for land and industrial expansion to take care of them would only tend to ghetto-ize the Jewish community. So, what of a Jewish State? The Arabs regard it as an

> "exotic movement, internationally financed, artificially stimulated, holding no hope of ultimate or permanent success."

Unfortunately there is something to this point of view. Palestine is not self-supporting. Perhaps given land expansion, great power and irrigation projects and, above all, internal peace, the Jewish community might become self-supporting in a generation or two. That is a moot point and almost irrelevant, because prospects for such expansion, projects and even peace are slight. Aside, however, from the physical limitations, there is the higher moral question that divides the Jews themselves; namely, is religious nationalism any more the answer to the over-all Jewish problem than is any other sort of nationalism the answer to any part of the world problem?

What the Jews really need is not a national state but the right sort of world. Probably there will always be a certain number of Jews who prefer segregation in the Holy Land, but we hazard the opinion that if the nations carried out that provision in the United Nations Charter, presumably not lightly adopted, for

> "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,"

it would do far more to solve the Jewish problem than any multiplication of the Jewish population in Palestine.

Among other things this would mean the re-establishment of the 100,000 Jews in the assembly camps on the same basis, and with the same regard, as the resettlement of all of Europe's millions of displaced persons. If the remnants of Hitler's evil anti-Semitic brew precludes this in Eastern and Central Europe, then,

assuredly, humanitarian gates must be opened, but not only in Palestine. The whole world must share the task, including the U. S. This makes a bipartisan approach to the problem all the more desirable.

All this—a humane world and one in which a Jew can live and prosper equally with all—is an easy solution, surely. It is only as hard as the human heart.

III

THE ARABS LIVE THERE TOO

BY KERMIT ROOSEVELT

[*The grandson of a great American President, Theodore Roosevelt and the son of the late Major Kermit Roosevelt, the author of this article writes from intimate and first-hand knowledge of the Near East. During the war he travelled as civil servant and as soldier in Iran, Ethiopia, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine and was attached to the State Department in Cairo in 1943. Before the war he taught history at Harvard and California Institute of Technology.*]

TWO GRIM FACTS must be faced by this country in its handling of the explosive problem of Palestine. First, the Zionist cause is, for many Jews, the central faith of their lives, for which they will fight and die; to many still in Europe it offers their only hope. This we are not likely to forget, even if the headlines would permit us. The other fact is less widely recognized in this country—or, for that matter, in any non-Moslem country. It is that the Arabs also have rights in Palestine, that the Zionist program threatens those rights, and that Arabs also will fight and die in their own cause.

Occasionally someone comes back from a flying visit to Jerusalem and reports that Arab hostility towards Zionism is confined to the rich landowners, while the common people are indifferent. The creation of a Jewish state, they say, could be accomplished without serious opposition. That is a comfortable belief; but I cannot read such reports without remembering, with unhappy sharpness, too many scenes and conversations from my own experience in Palestine which lead to wholly different conclusions.

For example: one day in 1944 an Arabic-speaking American and I stopped in a small Arab village on the Sea of Galilee, and were invited to have coffee by the headman of the village. His sun-baked house consisted of one room. The walls were lined with cushions for our reception and in one corner, looking very lonely

and out of place, was a single chair. We took off our shoes outside the door, as good manners required, and settled ourselves, cross-legged and self-conscious, upon the cushions. A few minutes later our host entered. Just as we had tried to show ourselves familiar with Arab custom, so he wished to proclaim his knowledge of Occidental habits. He kept on his shoes, which were huge, and highly polished under an irregular coating of dust. Somehow his bony ankles, uninhibited by socks, automatically drew the eye to these great, boatlike shoes, the only ones in a room full of people. I had to force myself to look elsewhere as their owner sat above us, as ill at ease in the chair as we were upon the floor.

The scene was, in a way, ridiculous. The conversation was not. Once the amenities had been exchanged it was, on the contrary, bitter and steeped in the elements of tragedy. Our host's warm brown eyes grew hot, though his voice remained politely calm, as he questioned us on American policy toward Palestine. Was it true, he asked, that America was helping the Jews to take Palestine away from the Arabs? That our Congress has voted that Palestine should be a Jewish state? By what right did people in one country tell people of another country that they must give up their land to foreigners? He was not a well-educated man, and I have often heard the Arab case put more eloquently and effectively. But he spoke with conviction when he said that, rather than allow the introduction of a foreign majority into their homeland, he and his villagers would fight to the last man. His village was close to one of the fine Jewish communal farms, and we remarked that we had been much impressed by his neighbors, both as good farmers and as sincere, admirable people. He was frank to admit that his villagers had benefited from their presence. The Jews had taught them better methods of irrigation, loaned them farm machinery, and been helpful in many ways. As individuals, he admired them. But, he added quickly, there were other Jews in Palestine who despised the Arabs and treated them badly. It was no use trying to comfort him with the Zionists' promise that Arabs would be guaranteed equal rights. The issue to him was as simple as this: if the Jews had their way, Palestine would be a Jewish country, not an Arab country.

On the evening of the same day we talked in Jerusalem to a man who had worked on a communal farm during the violent days preceding the recent war. He had been for some years

the farm's "liaison officer" with the local Arabs, and we asked how successful he thought Jewish efforts to promote friendly relations with their Arab neighbors had been. He replied that —up to a point—they were being successful. For example, he was confident that in the prewar outbreaks none of the Arabs living near his communal farm had attacked members of that farm. They seem genuinely grateful for the help and advice they had received. They would even, on occasion, warn the Jews of attacks being planned by Arabs from another locality.

But that was a personal matter, and could not be allowed to interfere with their broader intent—which was to see that Palestine remained an Arab country. To preserve their tender sensibilities while yet doing their national duty (as they saw it), these Arabs would descend upon a distant group of Jews—where there were no personal ties to make them uncomfortable. Our informant had no doubt they would do the same thing all over again. He said that his own Arab friends might mourn him if he fell victim to another Arab's bullet, but only as an American might have mourned a German friend who fell fighting against America.

Since 1939 the terrorism in Palestine has been almost entirely the work of Jewish extremists. But this was not always so, nor can we assume that it will continue so. Although the fighting at the moment is between British and Jew, no one could dare predict when the Arab may feel that he too must take up arms—and then three-cornered war would sweep the Holy Land. The incongruous shoes, the lonely chair, a calm voice pronouncing words of desperation—these typify in my memory the simplicity and implacability of Arab resistance and make it impossible for me to accept the easy theory that the opposition is just on the surface, in the talk of the cities and the self-interest of wealthy landholders. And the sad, courageous eyes of my Jewish friend, the matter-of-fact way in which he discussed problems of neighbor murdering neighbor, underline the acceptance of this fact by well-informed Jews.

These were not unusual conversations. Europe is said now to have but two topics of discussion: food, and what the Russians will do. Palestine has only one: the Arab-Jewish conflict. There are zealots who look forward to, or are happily able to overlook, the expenditure of blood for their cause. But there are few optimists on the spot. One has to be far removed from the scene

to predict that the Arabs will submit to the imposition of a Jewish state upon Palestine. It is noteworthy that the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry specifically states that the Arab leaders truly represent their followers; the tone of the whole report is heavy with forebodings of bloodshed and terror.

In these circumstances it is heart-rending to read how a large percentage of the tormented Jews of Europe wish to go to Palestine. Unless agreement can be reached with the Arabs, it is plain that Palestine offers no solution to their bitter quandary. The Committee of Inquiry's report comments on the natural desire of Central European Jews to:

> "get away somewhere, where there is a chance of building up a new life, of finding some happiness, of living in peace and security."

The immigrants' prospects for happiness, peace and security in a country torn by civil war arising from their presence, surrounded on all sides by hostile neighbors, would be small indeed.

Yet there is, I believe, a way in which they could attain such sanctuary as they seek—at a sacrifice. That sacrifice would be renunciation of the idea that Palestine shall ever become a Jewish state and agreement that future immigration (after the admission of a specified number—say one hundred thousand—of refugees) shall be held to a reasonable quota. The sacrifice would be a severe one to many Zionists; but no solution is in sight which does not entail as great or greater sacrifice.

The tragic muddle of Palestine has been clouded by so many conflicting promises that any settlement is bound to be unfair to some who accepted in good faith the promises offered them. Unfortunately, it can be no consolation to the disappointed to know that the promises they accepted were made by men who had no moral or practical right to give what they had promised.

Yet it is a fact which must influence American policy. We can get a clearer understanding of this (since Palestine is so fraught with emotional and religious significance) if we consider a hypothetical parallel case. Let us suppose that the United States, having undertaken to assist the Filipinos to self-government, had then turned to another people suffering under Japanese oppression who had lived in the Philippines many centuries ago but were now wholly foreign to the islands. Suppose that the United States had promised them these islands to form a commonwealth of their own. Even if the second promise were endorsed by

Great Britain and other powers, and even though the Filipinos agreed that victims of Japanese oppression should be given every possible aid and comfort, they would not admit the right of the United States to make such a promise. They would resist all efforts to fulfill it. American public opinion would surely support them.

It is difficult to answer the Arabs when they say:

> "You Americans talk of protecting minority rights. Does that mean a majority is to be trampled on, made a minority against its will in its own home? You speak of self-determination of peoples and regions, of free elections, and democracy. Is Palestine not to have the right of self-determination? Why not let us have a free election on the destiny of our own country? Why should not we be allowed to decide our future in a democratic way? And isn't it strange that, in spite of all your expressions of horror at Nazi persecution of the Jews and all your professions of pity and desire to help—isn't it strange that you, and Canada, and Australia, and South America and other countries with space to spare should not be willing to accept your proper share of these refugees instead of demanding that one small country bear almost the entire burden?"

In connection with this last point, the Committee of Inquiry reported: (1) that "Palestine alone cannot meet the emigration needs of the Jewish victims"; and (2) that "such information as we received about countries other than Palestine gave no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews." That does not leave a good impression of Occidental justice, not to mention mercy.

The Arabs were not responsible for the persecution which has led to this emigration. They argue that it is not just that they should be compelled to pay for the sins of others by opening their country to hundreds of thousands of sufferers from European anti-Semitism. They would do their share for refugees on a quota basis if other, and bigger, countries did likewise. But to ask them to bear the whole burden is, they protest, a mockery of justice. Sympathy for a wronged people does not justify wronging *another* people. Shameful though it is to abandon a promise, it is no better blindly to enforce an unjust promise. And it is not just to force the majority of the inhabitants of a country to accept a large scale immigration which would leave them out-

numbered in their own home. The "ethnic principle" which we are upholding so vigorously against the Jugoslavs and Russians in Trieste would be grossly violated by such action.

So far I have touched chiefly upon the rights of the Arabs. That is because those rights have been given little publicity in this country, which has been proceeding almost as if they had no rights. That is not to say, however, that the Jewish case is anything but compelling. The right of the Jews, not to asylum only, but to homes where they can live in peace and dignity, is beyond dispute. It must be satisfied by international action; we are all human, we all share to some extent the blame for their plight. We must all share the responsibility for providing a solution. The question is how large a part can be assigned to Palestine in that solution.

The Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate made sweeping promises to the Jews concerning Palestine. Even though both exceeded—in the eyes of the Arabs and of many impartial observers—their proper jurisdiction, and even though neither can possibly be regarded as legally binding on the Arabs, that is certainly not the fault of the Jews. The Zionists do have, shall we say, not legal rights but legitimate expectations in Palestine.

At the moment, however, they are trying to press beyond what they were promised, and in so doing they can only endanger their expectations. The Committee report remarks:

> "It should be noted that the demand for a Jewish state goes beyond the obligations of either the Balfour Declaration or the Mandate, and was expressly disowned by the Chairman of the Jewish Agency as late as 1932."

It is that expressed intention, which Arab leaders had long prophesied, that causes the most acute fear and arouses the most intense hatred among the Arab peoples. The abandonment of that ambition—which is the first part of the sacrifice I believe necessary for the sake of Jews both there and in Europe—does not represent any paring down of their legitimate expectations, but rather a return to the original program.

The next step—the acceptance of strict limitations upon future immigration after the emergency quota has been filled—would represent a real retreat from those expectations. In actual practice, however, I do not believe that it would be an important one, for these reasons.

In negotiating a figure for the emergency quota, it seems to me essential (and only humane) that the United States and the British Dominions in particular should agree to receive within their own borders a reasonable proportion of the refugees. Recently, President Truman has expressed his intention of asking Congress to admit additional refugees to this country. Strong public backing will be needed, however, before Congress will approve even the inadequate figure the President is reported to favor. If one hundred thousand has been fixed upon as the desirable figure for Palestine, a densely populated country about the size of Vermont, it would seem reasonable that the United States and the British Dominions could take at least that number—if necessary, twice or three times that. In any case, the final agreement should provide homes for all the Jews who presently wish to emigrate from Europe.

That would take care of current requirements. After that, barring a major increase in anti-Semitism in some place where there is a sizeable Jewish population, it is unlikely that there will be any great demand for immigration visas to Palestine. On the contrary, an appreciable number of Jews will (unless they have changed their minds in the last year or two) wish to leave Palestine for South America, their old home in Europe or, if they can possibly get in, the United States.

The Jewish Agency has often denied that this would be so, but conversations with Palestine Jews and with Americans long resident in Palestine have persuaded me that it is true. In the appendix to its report, the Committee of Inquiry refers to a petition to the Austrian government from Jews now in Palestine requesting that they be allowed to return. There may be many similar petitions in the next few years. After the present emergency, it would seem that a quota of one or two thousand annually would be adequate, perhaps with an additional allowance to replace Jews leaving the country.

In any case, the country's ability to absorb additional population must surely be a limiting factor. If there is peace and if, in spite of the failure to secure a Jewish state, American and British Zionists continue to pour money into the development of Palestine, it may be able to take care of a greatly increased population. The natural increase among the Arabs has been very great and will doubtless continue so. Yet if the bi-national state is successful the decrease of tension which should follow, together

with such projects as the proposed "Jordan Valley Authority," might easily make possible a sizable increase in Jewish immigration—if there are still Jews desirous of going there.

I have said that these arrangements must be made by agreement with the Arabs, which would be a radical break with past methods of trying to solve the Palestine problem. Surely that is only practical; it is also the only just way of proceeding. Arab rights must be recognized. But, we must ask, will the Arabs, let alone the Jews, agree to such proposals? I think there is a good chance that they will, as a necessary part of the following program.

Immediately upon their agreement, the way should be opened for Palestine to become an independent state, a member of the Arab Federation and of the United Nations. It would have an Arab majority, but the rights of the Jewish minority should be carefully and expressly protected under a UN guarantee, with local self-government where practicable and full participation in the national government assured. Work on a constitution could be started immediately.

Administration of the country ought to be turned over to Arabs and Jews as rapidly as possible. Full independence would be granted as soon as a UN commission (including at least one representative from an Arab state) reported that public order could be maintained. Inevitably there will be last ditch opposition to this—or any other conceivable settlement—from extremist Arabs and Jews alike; dissident elements from either group disturbing public order should be rounded up for deportation, and both communities, with the assistance of a UN-appointed mandatory power, would assist in the performance of this task.

On those terms most Arabs would, I believe, agree to a generous, *firmly fixed* figure for emergency immigration. They would be getting the two things they most want: independence, and the assurance of retaining a majority in their own country.

The Jews, on the other hand, would be getting substantially what they were promised by the Balfour Declaration and the League mandate, and far more than was recommended in two subsequent British White Papers (which are, incidentally, in spite of the calumny heaped upon them, fair and competent studies). Most Jews would agree, I think, to relinquish the idea of a Jewish state and accept restrictions on immigration in return for homes for their European homeless—*provided* it is clear that

American and British public opinion support such a program and no further expansion of earlier promises will be countenanced. Many Jews, particularly in Palestine, have long been urging action along similar lines. And while there are differences in approach—notably the insistence upon recognition of decisive Arab rights—this program would not be far different in result from that recently advocated by the Committee of Inquiry.

This plan undoubtedly has flaws in it. It will not be wholly acceptable, or even nearly so, to either side. Unfortunately, no plan can be. This particular one is put forward with the conviction that up to now American proposals have given only the scantiest consideration to the Arabs, and in belief that a compromise of this general sort is not only possible but—in the light of past confusion and present tragedy—is about the best we can do.

And something must be done. Inaction will lead to chaos in the refugee camps of Europe, in Palestine, and subsequently, in all likelihood, throughout the greater part of the Middle East. To support the Zionist program in its present form (as we seem inclined to do) will inevitably lead to a tragedy on the same scale as that the Jews have suffered in Europe during the last decade. Only by taking account of Arab as well as Jewish rights can we reach a solution that will work—and that will be in line with our American traditions of justice and democracy.

IV

SHOULD A JEWISH STATE BE ESTABLISHED IN PALESTINE?

By T. REID, C. M. G., M. P.

[*The following article, which appeared in the April, 1946 issue of The Royal Central Asian Journal of London, was read before the Royal Asian Society on Wednesday, January 9, 1946. It is reproduced here with the permission of the author and of the Royal Central Asian Journal. The author, the Hon. Thomas Reid, member of the British Parliament, is a student of long standing of Near Eastern affairs. He lived in the Middle East and assumed important administrative duties for a quarter of a century; was member of the Palestine Partition Commission in 1938, and chairman of the League of Nations Commission on the Franco-Turkish dispute about the Sanjaq of Alexandretta, Syria, in 1937-38.*]

I HAVE BEEN MIXED UP with this problem for many years in no superficial manner. I went to Palestine in 1938 rather annoyed with Arabs and Jews for not collaborating peacefully as urged by the honest broker, Britain, the long-suffering Mandatory Power.

Having the right to probe, I probed and have probed since, the tortuous sinuosities of the subject. I found out that the elementary fact was that the honest broker had created the Palestine problem by the Balfour Declaration. Revelation came to me as I got behind the smoke screen of propaganda and discovered one of the most remarkable achievements in history. I found that in Britain, America and other countries, decent peoples, misled by one-sided propaganda—the Arabs being far away and not provided with money which speaks in politics—peoples densely ignorant of the facts, had been led to believe that the cause of the political Zionists was just and wise, though it was contrary to every known principle of morals or law. Now I was old-fashioned enough to agree with Burke, whom I quoted in my dissent on the Partition Commission's Report:

"It is with the greatest difficulty that I am able to separate

policy from justice. Justice is itself the great standing policy of civil society; and any eminent departure from it, under any circumstance, lies under the suspicion of being no policy at all."

Yes, honesty is the best policy.

I still adhere to my old-fashioned views of what true statesmanship is. I am pro justice, pro Arab, pro Briton, pro Jew; and I consider that the setting up of a Jewish State in Palestine would be disastrous for all of them and to the last degree immoral and unjust.

The Palestine problem was and still is caused by the attempt to establish there a Jewish State. That problem cannot begin to be solved until it is decided whether a Jewish State is or is not to be established.

The decision should depend on a knowledge of the relevant facts and on honest, straightforward reasoning about those facts, not on irrelevant side issues, as, for instance, whether Jewish settlements in Palestine are self-supporting or not, whether the Palestine Government, or the Jews financed from outside, or the Arabs financed by themselves, contributed most to the rehabilitation of Palestine, whether Jews or Arabs committed most acts of violence, whether there were Arab conscripts in the Turkish Army in the first world war or conscript Jews in the Kaiser's army.

The claim to the sovereignty of a country must be based to-day on moral or legal right, or both, if it is to win the approval of the people of Britain, of our Empire, of America, of the world. We may dismiss the right of conquest in the days of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the Atlantic Charter. And if conquest is to be considered, did not the Arabs, as Allies, help greatly to conquer Palestine in 1918?

The Zionists are of two kinds: those Jews who desire a spiritual cultural home in Palestine, to whom I wish all success, and the political Zionists who desire to have a Jewish State in Palestine. The latter, in my opinion, are a tiny fraction of the Jews of the world. But from the outset, the Zionist Organization's objective was a Jewish State and they desired to have it, not in the East African highlands or in any place except Palestine, a land ruled by the Turkish Sultans whose empire at the beginning of the twentieth century seemed to be about to collapse at long last. When Turkey entered the first world war, the political Zionists saw the opportunity of securing a Jewish State in Palestine, not from the people

of Palestine, but from the Allies, or rather from Britain, which was neither owner nor occupier of Palestine. They based their claim on the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine. So we have to get down to moral bedrock and analyse this claim.

When the Israelites, about 1100 B. C., entered the hill country round Jerusalem, the area now called Palestine was not uninhabited. Long before that Semitic or other peoples had poured across the Arabian deserts into the country now called Palestine. Egyptian Kings ruled this area before the Israelites came, probably from Egypt, to which they had emigrated.

They fought with their neighbors the Philistines on the coast, and others, and there were inter-tribal Israelite wars. Their territory varied in size according to the fortunes of war. In the 10th century B. C. under David and Solomon they united and conquered probably a great part of the area now called Palestine. Then they split into two hostile states, the northern of Israel in Samaria, the southern of Judea round Jerusalem, and the coastal peoples regained their independence. Both kingdoms retained a precarious sort of independence for about two centuries.

In the 8th century B. C. the Assyrians imposed their rule over both and over the rest of Palestine and deported many of the Israelites.

In the 7th and 6th centuries the Babylonians conquered both kingdoms and Palestine, sacked Jerusalem and dispersed the Jews.

In 539 B. C. Cyrus of Persia conquered Babylon and allowed those Jews who so desired to return to their former domicile in Palestine, which for three or four centuries was a satrapy of the Persian Empire.

In the 4th century B. C. Alexander the Great conquered the Near East. He took Jewish settlers to Alexandria. On his death his general Ptolemy ruled in Palestine. Later the rival Greek ruler Antiochus of Antioch of the Seleucid dynasty conquered Palestine.

The attempt to establish the Greek polytheistic religion led to a revolt by the monotheistic Jews under their priest Kings and Maccabees in the second century B. C. and for a brief period Judea was again independent.

The Roman Pompey stormed Jerusalem in 63 B. C. since when (2,000 years ago) there has not been a Jewish state in any part of what is now called Palestine. It became practically a Roman

Province, though rulers like Herod were allowed to call themselves Kings. Later the local rulers were called procurators, of whom Pontius Pilate was one.

The Jews revolted against Roman rule and Titus sacked Jerusalem in A. D. 70. Later rebellions by a Messiah and others led to the wholesale destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 135 A. D. and the deportation of the Jews. Only a few thousand were left in their homeland. But at the time there were about five times as many Jews in the rest of the Roman Empire as there were in Palestine.

After 500 years of Roman rule, in the seventh century A. D., the Arabs, breaking out of the Arabian desert, conquered all Syria including Palestine and set up an Empire stretching from Bagdad to Spain, which lasted about 300 years. In Jerusalem they had a university and built the beautiful Mosque, the Dome of the Rock, on the site of the Jewish temple. They ruled in turn from Medina, Damascus or Bagdad.

In the 11th century the Saljuk Turks conquered all Syria. From 1095 on the Crusaders held, till the end of the 12th century, a precarious kingdom of Jerusalem. They almost exterminated the Jews of southern Syria, Palestine.

For the next 200 years the Mameluke dynasty of Egypt ruled all Syria, during which period Mongol raids devastated it.

In 1517 the Ottoman Turks conquered Syria and ruled all Syria till 1918. Since then no State has ruled Palestine as a sovereign authority.

Some of those Jews persecuted in the West by Christians had returned to Palestine and in 1845 there were about 12,000 Jews in Palestine. Before 1900 Baron Rothschild and others financed Jewish settlements or colonies in Palestine which increased the Jewish population there.

During the first world war the Turks killed Arab leaders of Syria, starved and ruined the country, including Palestine, and about 12,000 Jewish refugees fled to Alexandria in American ships. In 1919, after the war, there were about 60,000 Jews in the area now called Palestine and about 650,000 non-Bedoain non-Nomadic Arabs. These Arabs were very mixed; they were the descendants of the various peoples who had invaded Palestine from across Arabia and from elsewhere, with whom the Arab conquerors had intermixed. They were mostly Moslems but there were nearly 100,000 Arab Christians. The bond of all was the Arabic

language, Arab ways of life and the memory of Arab greatness in arts and arms. All Syria, including its southern counties or Sanjaks of Acre, Balqa and the Sanjak of Jerusalem (all later made into modern Palestine) had been ruined by 400 years of blighting Turkish rule, during which it was handed over to the taxgatherer to whom the revenues were farmed out. It was ruined by the war and the ruthless cruelty practised on the people by the Turks when Arab disloyalty was discovered. Hundreds of thousands had died of starvation and disease. The Arab young men had long been conscripted in thousands annually to serve in the Turkish armies. It was the southern part of this helpless, down and out Syria, Palestine, that the political Zionists claimed in view of the historical facts sketched above. The prospects of aggression were good. How could the ruined country, unorganized politically resist? Who would have thought that neighbouring Arab States would intervene?

However, Mr. Asquith, British Premier, on hearing of this proposal, deemed it foolish. In truth, it was audacious. It proposed to deprive the people of Palestine of the sovereignty of their country. About 2,000 years before the Jews had ruled parts of Palestine for a few centuries. The Arabs had ruled the country centuries later for about 300 years and had never been expelled. Their ancestors had lived there for at least 1300 years. Even under the Turks the population was almost entirely Arab. In 1919 the Arab population was at least ten times that of the Jews, of whom about a third were recent immigrants. The prescriptive rights of the inhabitants of Palestine as against Jews domiciled outside of Palestine were irrebuttable. The Zionist claim was baseless. The Arab denial of it on any ground, moral or political, was unanswerable. As between Jew and Arab, the land was an Arab land entitled to native sovereignty after the war of 1914 to 1918, not liable to loss of sovereignty to immigrants.

It remains now to see if the political Zionists have established, since 1919, any moral, political or legal right to set up a Jewish State in Palestine. When the Turks gave up Syria including Palestine, people, in President Wilson's words, were not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty. Turkey surrendered her Arab lands in the final peace treaty. Now President Wilson had declared before the war ended, in his Fourteen Points that the nationalities under Turkish rule should be assured unmolested opportunity of autonomous development. And the Allies

fought for the right of self-determination for all peoples. Even if the Arabs had not lifted a finger to free themselves, the Allies had no right to set up a Jewish State. But who were the Allies? Britain, France, America, others and the Arabs. Their leader, the Sharif of Mecca, had rejected Turkey's demand that he should proclaim a Jehad against the Allies and the Arabs had entered the war in 1916 on the side of the other Allies in a written Treaty signed in that year with Britain, the agreement being that Arab territories were to be independent, when the Turks had been defeated. So, again, the allies of the Arabs, much less Britain, had no right to set up a Jewish State in Palestine, no moral, no legal right. Even if Palestine had been excluded in the Treaty from the area to be given independence, which was not the case, Britain had no right, as the Maugham Committee admitted in 1939, to dispose of Palestine. Even when Britain got a mandate from the Allies to govern Palestine temporarily till the country became independent, that mandate gave neither Britain nor any other States legal or moral right to dispose of the sovereignty of Palestine without the consent of the people, over 90 per cent of whom were Arabs, whose ancestors had lived there for 13 centuries at least.

To get the thing in true perspective, neither the Allies nor Britain had any right to hand over Palestine to anyone, nor any right to prescribe its future or its future population without the consent of the people, who were not primitive savages. As Lord Samuel, one of the authors of the political Zionists' plan, rendered wiser by experience later, said in 1939:

> "The Arabs are intensely aware of their history—that they acquired great territory, built up a remarkable culture and gave to the world one of its greatest civilizations."

It is the descendants of these people whom we are asked to hand over to the rule of Jewish immigrants.

Now let us examine the pledges given to the Arabs before they entered the war in which, according to General Allenby, they rendered "invaluable services" and fulfilled their part of the agreement. The pledges bound Britain which gave them and bind Britain today, unless we are to imitate the Kaiser and Hitler who regarded treaties as scraps of paper when no longer of use to them.

The British Government in the McMahon pledges of 1916 in a lengthy correspondence with the Sharif of Mecca agreed to

the independence after the war of all Syria except the north west coastal districts west of Aleppo, Homs, Hama and Damascus, where France had interests and where the population was not mainly Arab (not a word excluded Palestine). Britain refused to publish this correspondence for two decades. But the Arabs 20 years later managed to piece it together and force publication and the Maugham Committee of 1939, composed of Arabs and British, examined it: the former decided that the pledges included Palestine, the latter that they did not. Sir Henry McMahon said twenty years after 1916 that he had not intended to include Palestine. But undisclosed intentions do not override the written words of an agreement or bind the victims of one party's mental reservations or muddles. Sir Henry also said that the Sharif was aware of this considered reservation. The Sharif was not. Even the British members of the Maugham Committee agreed in 1939 that the Sharif had included Palestine in his claim. In word and act after 1916 the Sharif asserted this claim.

The agreement excluded, unless the French later agreed, the districts lying to the West of Damascus, Hama, Homs and Aleppo, that is the north west coastal districts of Syria. But Palestine lies south of even the most southerly of these, Damascus.

The western boundary of the territory to be independent was the Mediterranean which is the western boundary of Palestine. But the British Government argued that the districts west of Damascus, Hama, Homs, and Aleppo included Palestine which lay far to the south.

The Arabic word used in the correspondence was *wilays* (or vilayet in Turkish translated district). Now it meant the environs of the four places which stood in a line from north to south in North Syria. But Britain asserted that *vilayets* was meant, a vilayet being an administrative Turkish province with definite boundaries. Now either environ or vilayet was meant. If vilayet was meant, then we have to admit that, though there was a vilayet of Aleppo, in north Syria a large area, there was no vilayet of Damascus, no vilayet of Hama, and no vilayet of Homs. Never mind said the British representatives on the Committee, Damascus was the capital of the Vilayet of Syria so the vilayet of Syria must have been meant. And Hama and Homs must have been thrown in by Sir H. McMahon loosely, just to indicate the boundaries of the vilayet of Syria. But even the Vilayet of Syria did not include the Sanjak or county of Jerusalem, which was more than half

modern Palestine. Never mind that snag. It, too, was dragged in by a side wind, vilayet or no vilayet. And the rest of modern Palestine was dragged in by saying that the vilayet of Beirut was meant by the word districts, though a lot of it is south of Damascus. In the end the British team admitted that there was more in the Arab contention than had hitherto appeared, and that discovery after 23 years! There was in the Arab contention of truth exactly 100 per cent; and the wriggling of Britain in 1922 about vilayets was a desperate attempt to justify its plan to exclude Palestine and give it to Jewish immigrants. Britain, in written words without ambiguity, promised independence to Palestine in 1916. No impartial court or arbitrator would entertain any plea to the contrary.

Does this fact justify the setting up of a Jewish State in Palestine now by Britain or anyone else? Are British pledges scraps of paper?

France was not informed of this treaty and when informed was troublesome because France wanted to take over the whole of Syria, whereas in the power politics game Britain had long been trying to get southern Syria, that is Palestine, as her share of the spoils. The Maugham Committee nevertheless asserted, to prove that Palestine was excluded in 1916, that Sir H. McMahon could not have meant to give it as the French claimed it. In 1917 Britain issued an immoral and illegal document, the Balfour Declaration, for this very territory, Palestine, claimed by the French, not owned by French or British, with the secret undisclosed object, as Mr. Lloyd George said later, of letting the Jews one day convert the national home into a Jewish State. Yet it was alleged that Britain for fear of France dared not pledge Palestine to the people of Palestine in 1916.

Whatever Sir Henry intended, his letters bound Britain to agree to the independence of Palestine. In my search for truth through the tortuous dealings about Palestine, including the casuistry of the British members of the 1939 committee, I have not been proud of my country's third-rate, low statesmanship, the very opposite of the first-class stuff described by Burke. Most of the British politicians who dealt with this issue were fooled time and again by the Zionist leaders.

Well, France gave trouble. So the Sykes-Picot arrangement was made without the knowledge of the Arabs in 1916, carving up Syria and Turkey between Russia, France and Britain. This

was kept absolutely secret and no wonder. The Arabs were fighting well for their promised independence. The Arabs in the Turkish Army were deserting in thousands. Several divisions of them had to be moved by the Turks to fight in the west. And the Sykes-Picot agreement flatly contradicted the McMahon pledge and might destroy Anglo-Arab cooperation and the services of the Arabs were essential for Allenby's victory.

The fat was in the fire properly when the Bolsheviks after the 1917 revolution published the Sykes-Picot treaty, and when rumors of it reached the Arabs through the Turkish lines. When Col. Lawrence heard of it he told the Sharif's son Feisal, who led the Arabs in the field. He tried to reassure Feisal. The Turks used the occasion to offer the Arabs a separate peace. The Sharif rejected it and asked the Cairo British authorities for an explanation. Cairo asked the Foreign Office for help which, confronted with its duplicity or muddle, replied with evasive equivocation in February 1918, but reiterated its former pledge to stand by the Arabs in their struggle for liberation.

In 1917 the British Government issued the long-intended illegal and immoral Balfour Declaration, again made disgracefully without the knowledge of the Arabs, viewing with favour the establishment of a Jewish national home in the Palestine already promised to her allies, the Arabs, the Palestine which was then in possession of the Turks, which Britain did not own and which she does not own now. It had been held up by Tzarist Russia, British Jewry and other obstacles and was not issued till the victory of Allenby in Syria was a certainty. Victory was achieved in 1918. The Sharif (now King Hussein) asked for an explanation when he heard of the Balfour Declaration and Commander Hogarth was sent to allay his fears. He told Hussein that:

> "Jewish settlement in Palestine could only be allowed in so far as it would be consistent with the political and economic freedom of the Arab population."

Mr. M. McDonald, Colonial Secretary, corroborated this in his speech in the House of Commons in 1939. So Hussein agreed to provide a refuge for the Jews from persecution. He sent out messages to his followers, Feisal included, saying that he had assurances from Britain that future Arab independence in Palestine was not in question. But the immoral and illegal Sykes-Picot agreement and the illegal and immoral Balfour Declaration had aroused Arab suspicions and unrest and there was danger

to the cause.

Seven Egyptian Arabs asked the British Government for a clear statement of its policy about Arab lands. The British Government's reply of 1918, published and sent to King Hussein, dealt with many Arab territories. For Palestine it stated that the future government of it should be based on the consent of the governed and that Britain would work for its freedom and independence. There is nothing like danger to make people virtuous. The Arabs, instead of being despondent, over the British Government's dubious policy and therefore dangerous, hailed the statement with jubilation. Next month, Americans angling for Jewish votes in New York, Illinois and other states regardless of the interests of Arab, Britain or Jew in Palestine, please note, President Wilson announced that post-war settlement would be based on:

> "the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned."

The Arab forces went in with zest on Allenby's right for the final kill in that brilliant campaign and entered Damascus in triumph.

Is a Jewish State to be set up or are the pledges of President Wilson, of Dr. Hogarth, the pledges to the Seven, to be scraps of paper like the other pledges?

At the end of 1918, owing to the troubles from the Arabs in Beirut, reserved pro tempore for the French in the McMahon correspondence, an Anglo-French declaration was issued announcing as joint aims the complete and final liberation of the populations living under the Turkish yoke and setting up of a national government chosen by the people themselves in the free exercise of the national will. Feisal had told Allenby he could not allay Arab suspicions or keep his forces in control unless an authoritative statement of policy was issued. Danger produced again a quick proclamation of virtue and good faith. Like the others this proclamation prevented an Arab-British rupture. Is this concrete Anglo-French Declaration also to be a scrap of paper?

To reassure the puzzled Arabs further and keep them fighting, the British dropped thousands of leaflets on Palestine, signed by the British command and the Sharif, promising independence and urging the Arabs to help their liberators. So the Arab people welcomed the British and Arab forces as they advanced. Were these bits of paper merely meant to fool the Arabs while their

help was essential, mere scraps of paper? Or are we bound to honour them? Do they justify the setting up of a Jewish State in Palestine?

France held Britain to the Sykes-Picot agreement which probably bound neither after the defection of Russia. Mr. Lloyd George wanted to shelve it. So Syria was unjustly partitioned after victory, regardless of the economic and political harm done thereby. Out of it was carved modern Palestine, containing the sanjak of Jerusalem and the sanjaks of Balqua, and Acre in 1923. France took a mandate for the north, Britain for what is now Palestine. Again note the sublime justice of the proceedings. The Arabs as usual were not consulted in the framing of the Mandate. In the Mandate for Palestine the Balfour Declaration is included. So the Jews have established their national home in Palestine, their language, synagogues, university, settlements, industries, cultural and other public bodies and institutions.

From 60,000 they have increased to 600,000, a tenfold increase in 25 years and that though about 50,000 Jews have emigrated from Palestine since 1920. From about 10 per cent of the population, the Jews have increased to about 35 per cent. And Palestine has taken about half a million Jews, most of whom were forced in against the wishes and forcible resistance of the Arabs by British bayonets. Britain implemented the establishment of the national home a hundred per cent. There remain her pledges to the Arabs apart from the moral and legal right of Palestine to independence even if there were no pledges.

The political Zionists asked for a Jewish State in 1917. The British Government, thinking that Jewish political support would be useful, especially in bringing America into the war, mainly for strategic reasons, issued the Balfour Declaration. Mr. Asquith said, when he was Prime Minister, that Mr. Lloyd George did not care a damn for the Jews or what happened to them. The British motive was strategic. Of course, the British peoples had to be fed with sentiment about Zion and the dispersal of the Jews of Palestine who had dispersed of their own accord long before the Romans dispersed them.

In 1918 Dr. Weizmann, the Zionist leader, stated at Government House, Jerusalem, to assembled Jew and Arab notables:

> "Let my hearers beware of treacherous insinuations that Zionists are seeking political power—rather let both progress together until they were ready for a joint autonomy."

Today he asks for a Jewish State!

But the British Government, while offering the Zionists rights in Palestine which only a sovereign state in possession of Palestine had the right to offer, whereas Britain neither owned nor possessed nor ruled Palestine, did not offer and has not offered the Zionists a Jewish State in Palestine. It said, in effect:

> "I, A., offer you, C., rights in B.'s property short of sovereignty: but off the record I hope you, C., will one day take away B.'s sovereignty as well. But we will not publish our secret understanding to the proposed victims, the people of Palestine."

Even if Britain had offered sovereignty, she had and has no more right to offer it than America would have to offer the sovereignty of Wales to the descendants of the ancient Druids scattered all over the earth or than Britain would have to offer a Puritan, British State in Florida to the non-conformists of Britain whose ancestors sailed in the Mayflower.

Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations of 1920 states that peoples not yet able to stand alone should be a sacred trust under a mandatory. And it goes on to say of Arab territories formerly belonging to Turkey that they have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised.

The Mandate of 1923 was issued under this clause of the Covenant, but it did not provisionally recognize Palestine's independence. And the sacred trust was discharged by a secret intention to transfer Palestine's sovereignty to Jewish immigrants when they had a majority. Was this fair play? But even the Mandate prescribed the development of self-governing institutions and of encouraging local autonomy. It envisaged a Palestinian State which is now overdue.

The Balfour Declaration and the Mandate have caused continual strife in Palestine. The Arabs have opposed both and their administrative results, the attempts of the Jews financed from outside to get political and economic domination over down and out Palestine, by mass immigration to secure a majority and thereby a *de facto* Jewish State and by squeezing the Arabs off the land by purchase of it at any price and by making it thereafter inalienable to Arabs and by refusing to employ Arabs on it or in Jewish enterprises wherever possible. The Zionist policy was gradual extermination of the Arabs economically and gradual out-

stripping of them in numbers. The honest broker, Britain, condoned all this till 1939.

The Peel Commission in 1937 recommended not a spiritual and cultural national home, but a Jewish State in part of Palestine and brutually hinted at compulsory eviction of the Arabs to make room for Jews. I helped to upset that unjust scheme in 1938 as a member of the Partition Commission and I am not ashamed of my work. My dissent raised some awkward issues moral and political. I unmasked the make-believe and helped to force an exceptionally incompetent British Government to drop its policy and to accept, inter alia, my views roughly 100 per cent. The White Paper of 1939 is little more than an endorsement of the Partition Commission's proposals. The latter indicated that partition was impracticable. So did I, but I also said that it was immoral. This White Paper envisaged the independence of Palestine in 1939. Since 1939 the French, who did many good things in Syria, yet for their own and Syrian good, have been forced out of Syria. It is high time we also quitted Palestine. The White Paper of 1939 stated:

> "His Majesty's Government now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State."

And it declared that after 75,000 more Jewish immigrants entered the country, there was to be no more Jewish immigration without the consent of the Arabs. Is all that to be another scrap of paper?

The Arabs are willing to let the National Home remain with its 600,000 Jews. The task is to secure real guarantees for the security and equal treatment of those Jews if they become citizens of a Palestinian State. Many wish to quit the country now; many have retained the citizenship of the countries they came from. If the infamous policy of setting up a Jewish State by Britain or America or other foreign powers which have no moral or legal right to dispose of Palestine, is abandoned, conciliation between Palestinian Jew and Arab, who both long for peace and prosperity, will, in my opinion, be not impossible, though there will be some fanatical Jews who will, and indeed already have resorted to force to win the sovereignty of Palestine. We need not expect to make a Palestine omelette without breaking eggs. But we have got to do justice at long last to the people of Palestine of whom over 60 per cent are still Arabs in an Arab country inhab-

ited by their ancestors for 13 centuries.

I have spoken so far from the standpoint of fair play and legality. Let us for a moment for the sake of argument scrap both and regard as scraps of paper all the documents I have quoted. Let us descend to the level of the so-called practical man, who despises, as I do not, the imponderables and looks at the material pros and cons, about the only things he is able to comprehend.

Now, what have Arabs, Jews, Britons, Americans, or the world to gain materially by imposing a Jewish State on Palestine directly, or indirectly by forcing Jewish mass immigration on the country? Would not that set the Arab world aflame for generations if necessary? Who is to do the fighting? Jews, Britons or Americans? Would any British or American Government dare to send its young men to die zealously scaling the walls of Jerusalem as modern crusaders, to set up a Jewish State over the shambles of the battlefields and the corpses of the Arab inhabitants? Let us face the facts and let British and American Governments face these facts. Or can we who made the Palestine problem now leave Arabs or Palestine Jews in the lurch to fight it out? The unfortunate British taxpayer has already given to the Palestine Government over £13,000,000 to keep it from bankruptcy, exclusive of the enormous cost of military operations. It cost about £40,000,000 to put down the Iraq rebellion and then we gave Iraq independence after all. Will the British or American taxpayer pay millions of pounds to establish by force a Jewish State in Palestine? Ask the electorate already sick of inundating Palestine with blood and treasure. Ask the irresponsible American party machine vote catching for Jewish votes.

If there be people, of whom I am one, who know this subject and are in a position to demand and give information, who can let the public know the correct interpretation of the courage and the cost, will it be possible as in the past, to trade upon the ignorance of this subject of the American or British public, who can sack their governments?

And if the Anglo-American forces pulverized the Arabs in the field and set up a Jewish State, who is to protect that state in the centuries to be from the wrath of the remaining Arabs and their descendants, maddened by a colossal wrong?

The Arab States occupied some of the most important strategic positions in the world at least before the atomic bomb upset

former world strategy. It behooves the practical man either to get their friendship, sealed in treaties, or to exterminate the lot, not a very paying proposition. Then Saudi Arabia has a lot of oil which the world needs. The practical man will conclude that the great warrior King, Ibn Saud, is worth cultivating.

And what would the Jewish State have to offer? War and strife and appeals for help to America, Britain or Communist Russia. The Jews in Palestine can do more for it and the world if they throw in their lot as good citizens with the Arabs than they could ever do by starting minor international hell, a tiny Jewish State begotten in shame and iniquity, detested by its warlike neighbours who would in the end destroy it unless a major war destroyed more than the Jewish State.

In my opinion if the Jews in Palestine became genuine citizens in a Palestine State, they would have an influence out of all proportion to their numbers owing to their superior western education and experience.

So I hope that both narrow practical man and the only people worth while in politics, the practical idealists, will help the people of Palestine to prevent another crime and blunder, the establishment there of a Jewish State. And I end where I began with the homely motto: Honesty is the best policy.

PROPOSED SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

The Palestine problem cannot be solved till the unjust and unwise policy of establishing a Jewish State there or in any part thereof is abandoned.

The national home "viewed with favour" by Britain in 1917 has been established. The Palestine State morally and legally due to the people of Palestine, repeatedly pledged by America, Britain, France and the League of Nations, should be established in or before 1949 as envisaged by the White Paper of 1939.

The present system of governance should continue till the new Palestine State is established.

There will probably be an insistent demand (as happened in India) that the people of Palestine should frame their own constitution for the central government and local government bodies. If so the demand should be granted and the Palestine Government should pass an electoral law defining geographical constituencies and validating elections therein to a constituent assembly, elections based on adult suffrage. The sole duty of this constituent assem-

bly should be to draw up a constitution for central and local government.

In view of the special circumstances of Palestine, there should be clauses in the Constitution of other documents whereby if it be conclusively proved that the future government of Palestine has maltreated law-abiding minorities, the U. N. O. should have the right to place Palestine under its trusteeship. Similar clauses in respect to the Holy Places should be inserted to provide for possible gross mismanagement of these international shrines by the Palestine Government.

This Constitution should be considered by the American and British Governments and after discussions between them and the Constituent Assembly should be put into force.

Doubtless all three parties would agree about measures to ensure the defence of Palestine against foreign aggression. Palestine should become a member of the U. N. O. and help as such to establish universal peace. But if Syrians and Palestinians are wise and agree to it, the partition of Syria should be undone and a new independent state, the Holy Land, comprising Syria, Palestine and Transjordania should be created. But this should not delay the creation of an independent Palestine.

V

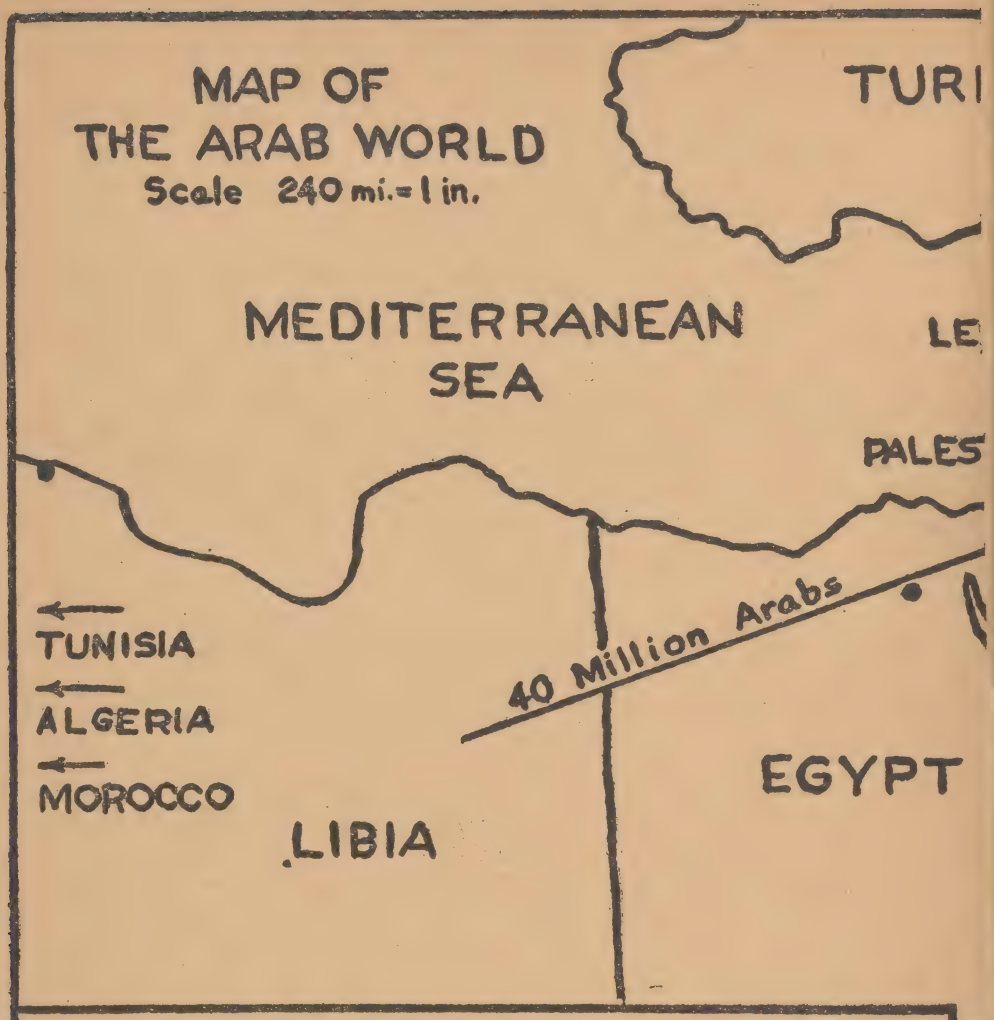
JEW AND ARAB IN THE HOLY LAND

By CHARLES R. WATSON

[*Dr. Charles Roger Watson was born in Cairo and educated at Princeton University and Princeton Seminary, which honored him with a Doctor of Divinity degree in 1931. Dr. Watson spent the greater part of his life as educator in Cairo, where he was president-elect of the American University of Cairo from 1914 to 1922, and president from 1922 to 1945 when he retired. He is now in the United States where he has made his residence in Princeton. The following article, reproduced here with the author's permission and the courtesy of The Princeton Seminary Bulletin, in which it appeared in the spring issue of 1946.*]

IT IS WELL TO ADMIT at the outset certain basic difficulties. One is the difficulty of gaining any real advantage in a restudy and restatement of the case. So much has been written already on the subject. If any advantage is to be sought, it will be in the avowed intent of being unprejudiced and detached beyond our predecessors. This is indeed our admitted aim whether the reader or listener admits it or not.

Another difficulty facing us is the difficulty of reaching accuracy in respect to many of the factors involved. For example, how fruitful is Palestine, what population can it carry? Here is W. C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of Soil Conservation Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, who says that under proper circumstances we may add to the present population of 400,000 Jews in Palestine no less than 5,000,000. On the other hand there are those who say that Palestine has now reached or is now very near reaching its saturation point in respect to absorbing safely a high population. Or to take another illustration, both President Truman and Governor Dewey argue for wide open doors to Jewish immigration into Palestine on the ground that there are 200,000 Jews in Poland who want to go there and that the Palestinian climate is warm and comfortable to make possible their escape from the rigorous climate of Poland. Now neither President Truman nor Governor Dewey know anything more than they have been told as to whether 200,000 Jewish Poles would have any desire to leave Poland, nor have they lived comfortably



THE ARAB KEYSTONE AND BRIDGE

Palestine is the heart and center of the Arab world. Extending, as it does, from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, Palestine is the keystone state of the coming Arab union. Its settlement by Jews would be equivalent to the occupation of Pennsylvania by France or Russia. Palestine is the only bridge between the twenty-million Arabs of Western Asia and the forty million Arabs of Northern Africa. Its conversion into a Jewish state would sever the Arab world and prevent its unification. It is no wonder that the Arabs are determined at any cost to keep Palestine in the Arab fold.

—JABIR SHIBLI.

KEY
IRAN
SYRIA
IRAQ
BANON
20 Million Arabs
TRANSJORDAN
PERSIAN GULF
SAUDI
ARABIA
RED SEA
SUDAN
YEMEN
GULF OF ADEN

through a winter in Palestine except under such artificial heating as no poverty-stricken Pole could afford. In spite of these and other difficulties we push on to review this present discussion around which gathers so much of animosity and venom.

At the outset there are certain basic points to be noted which, if proper and practical significance is given, much that is now in dispute will immediately be cleared up. For one thing we must agree on the use of terms. We need to distinguish sharply between Jew and Zionist and ascribe to each its proper meaning. Many people indeed are under the misapprehension that these terms have identical meaning. This is the opposite of the truth. All Zionists are Jews, but the great majority of Jews are not Zionists in any sense. Zionism is properly applied to those who believe in Jewish nationalism, who regard Judaism as a political idea rather than a religion, who count the Jew a race, a nation, not a member of a distinctive religion. This carries specifically the belief that Jewish life will not reach its completion until it has in Palestine, established and recognized by other political powers, a Jewish State. We need here to make allowance for a movement that is often identified with Judaism in general and that is called at times Zionism and indeed sometimes calls itself Zionism, but is to be sharply distinguished from Zionism as just defined. This is the Jewish movement which has endeavored to give expression to an entirely natural desire of Jews to develop old historic interests in Palestine and in Jerusalem and to make it the place in which they may live in quiet and peace. Baron Edmund Rothschild and Moses Montefiore, appalled at the condition of Jews in Europe, particularly in Russia, in their day, initiated a number of economic and agricultural settlements in Palestine for these impoverished Jews of Europe. These Jewish settlements had in them a love for Palestine, but did not aim in any sense at the modern Zionist proposals to establish a Jewish State in Palestine. The Zionist nationalism of today has sought to claim important settlements, but these have had historically nothing to do with Zionism. They represent philanthropy not politics. Zionism then is a political movement and aims at a Jewish State in Palestine. Judaism is a religion content to live anywhere, asking merely as all religions do, that it be given its proper rights.

Following from the foregoing we need to distinguish sharply, lest we be misled by a wrong impression, the distinction between

Jews that are pro-Jew and those that are pro-Zionist. Just as Zionists are in the minority, though very vocal and indeed vociferous, so the pro-Zionists convey the impression of being very numerous and indeed the dominant group in Judaism. As a matter of fact the pro-Zionists constitute a subordinate group in Judaism as a whole, although they claim to represent the whole of Judaism and although their influence threatens the future. At present one is uncertain whether they and their supporters are a flash in the pan of Jewish history or represent a new and great departure in the trend of Jewish history.

Another important distinction to be observed in the present-day juncture of all Zionist discussion is between the real Zionist claim and the Jewish refugee question. One of the chief arguments presented by Zionists for a revision of the British Immigration Limitation in the White Paper is the need of caring immediately for 200,000 Polish Jews who face cold weather and starvation in Poland. These have already been referred to in another connection, but here the point is made that these 200,000 Poles and their need have nothing to do with the Zionist problem. It is a Jewish refugee problem rising out of the war situation. It is an Allied problem and must take its place among other Allied problems dealing with that of feeding a starving Europe or the problem of displaced persons. In itself, it is not a direct concern of Palestine whatever, for Palestine was not in the war nor was it a part of the warring nations. We must refuse to allow it to be injected into the discussion even if our President and the Governor of New York State have been swept off their feet by this reported dire need of Polish Jews.

With these preliminary remarks we can now address ourselves to the problem of Jew and Arab in the Holy Land.

First of all, let us sharpen our ideas somewhat as to what the present controversy is about. It rages solely around the idea of establishing in Palestine a Jewish State or Government. This excludes two opposite ideas: one is that of Palestine becoming an independent Arab Government; the other is the idea of the Government remaining as today a British Mandate. There are Arab advocates of the country's becoming an independent Arab State, either separately and alone or as a part of a Syrian unit, but this claim is slight for the present, so strong is the Arab feeling that under no circumstances shall Palestine become a Jewish State. The opposition to the land's remaining under a British

Mandate is chiefly Zionist which sees in this permanent defeat of their plea for a Jewish State.

That the establishment of a Zionist State is the sole issue now disturbing the country deeply is abundantly attested both by Jewish actions and by Arab assertions. The violence recently shown, and indeed displayed for years, in Palestine has been, with one main exception, wholly Zionist, not broadly Jewish. These violent measures have been generally attributed to one or other of the extremist Jewish parties in Palestine and have generally been disowned by the regular Jewish community in Palestine which has not yet committed itself to the Zionist program.

On the Arab side, Abd-el Rahman Azzam, who is the present General Secretary of the Arab League, openly and publicly declared in Oriental Hall of the American University at Cairo that the Jew who came to Palestine to improve its economic life was welcome but if he came to change the Government of the country he was not. We may therefore conclude that the vital issue in Palestine today is whether within it shall be established a Jewish political State or Government. The future may show a variety of interpretations of this objective, but for the present this is the issue.

To correct a further frequently met misapprehension of the foregoing controversy it is important to observe that Zionism is a dispute of relatively recent times. In his recent book "*The Jewish Dilemma*" Rabbi Elmer Berger makes us realize that the Zionist dispute is of comparatively recent origin. He also points out that in its beginning Zionism originally consisted purely of the idea that Jewry called for a nationalistic base anywhere. So completely was the idea of nationalism the only idea present that it was regarded as immaterial where this Jewish State would be established, and the thought was seriously entertained for a while that the Jewish State might be established in Argentina. It was only through the purely practical affinity of Jewish nationalism with Jewish philanthropy which had already made considerable headway under Rothschild or Montefiore or Montague in Palestine and through the perfectly natural superiority of Palestine to the rest of the world for any Jew, that Palestine became in the movement the expected and much publicized seat of the future Jewish State. In his book, Elmer Berger credits the origin of the Zionist or Jewish nationalistic idea to books which appeared some 84 years ago, and the really vital and dynamic promotion of the

idea to some 50 years ago. First in 1862 appeared a book by Moses Hess entitled *"Rome and Jerusalem."* In 1882 Leo Pinsker in Russia advocated Jewish nationhood, probably independently of Hess. Toward the end of the century a third man appeared, Asher Ginsburg, a Ukranian Jew, who was better known under his pen name Ahad Ha'am. The latter urged that because this idea of Jewish nationalism was a truly new idea, the Jews would require a period of cultivation and education to develop in them loyalty to this new gospel. This illustrates both how recently and slowly the new idea of Jewish nationalism took root. Leadership in the Zionist movement then fell to Theodore Herzl who declared that the Dreyfus trial, in which he had participated in 1894, had made him a Zionist. Until Herzl's death in 1904, the Zionist cause moved in a political atmosphere through his efforts, sought steadily to change religious aspirations into political, tried, not unsuccessfully to attach to itself credit for all philanthropic efforts in Palestine, and helped to focus public attention on the political aspects of Zionism. With the death of Herzl, Chaim Weizmann became the Zionist leader. Under his leadership Zionism made numerous gains, some of them quite important, such as E. M. Scott of the Manchester *Guardian,* Louis D. Brandeis of America, Lloyd George of England, and extracted from England in the first World War the Balfour Declaration. The object of this brief review of the Zionist movement serves to remind us that Zionism is not yet 100 years old even as an idea. Its youth may indicate that it is indeed a mere incident in the long history of the Jews, a flash in the pan, as we have said, but again it can be said that all great movements must have their beginning somewhere and that Zionism may be one of the great developments of Jewish history in the days to come. Whichever our attitude, it is nevertheless well for us to take note of its youth and shortness of life.

Having sketched most superficially the development of Zionism to give evidence of its historical youth, it is worth our while to inquire concerning its aim and object as it seeks to justify itself in history. American nationalism ascribed its origin to a sense of injustice and lack of representation in the taxation processes of the British Government. How does Zionism explain the necessity for the political or national independence of Judaism? Here we must confess to finding very little presented to justify so great a departure from earlier Jewish traditions and ideals. Elmer

Berger gives two explanations for the rise of this Jewish nationalism.

> "Two factors," he says, "combined to bring about this new, unorthodox development in the lives of Jews, neither of them of Jewish origin. The first was the prevailing temper of the times manifested in the rise of great, national states. . . . It was the age when large states grew still larger and when small states, having no outlet for the passion of nationalism, developed the neurosis of frustrated people. Jewish nationalism is a reflection of these general factors. It led some Jews to wish to become a nation, like other nations. . . . Another factor contributed even more to Jewish nationalism. . . . In areas of the world where emancipation had not yet arrived, an increasing and narrow nationalism seemed to isolate the Jew. . . . Exponents of Jewish nationalism overwhelmed by the rush to petty nationalism believed that the solution to their problem was to be found in the same rush. . . . Discouraged at the slow pace of the emancipation, Jewish nationalism flung itself in the face of the forces of history and said, in effect: 'If emancipation has not been completed yet, it never will. Therefore we will seek freedom by continuing in the role which barbarism and serfdom assigned to us, as a separate, unintegratable group.' "

Berger's foregoing explanation really throws the blame for the emergence of Zionism upon their Gentile oppressions. Because persecution of the Jews continued in certain lands in which ordinary citizen rights were not granted them, they turned to Jewish nationalism and a separate national existence for deliverance. Though Berger does not give these examples, one might adduce them as somewhat parallel movements, as when the Armenians persecuted by the Turks went over to Russia and founded an independent Armenian Province; or where the Poles asked for and gained a separate political State to deliver their culture from the oppressive regimes of Germany, Austria and Russia; or when Americans turned to American independence to deliver themselves from a social and economic oppression on the part of England. The parallelism with these historical illustrations fails in that the people named all became part of the independent kingdom established and themselves developed its life. In the case of Zionism, a river of gold has run from England and America to Palestine to establish its industries and agricultural activities, but

so far as our investigations go, the Jewish colonies in Palestine are non-Anglo-Saxon, and whatever Americans and English joined these communities anticipatory of Zionism have for the most part returned to their own countries. Zionism for them may represent a noble idea, but an impractical reality. Berger's claim is that instead of looking to Zionism for deliverance, Jews from these minority-oppressing countries should have awaited a democratic progress in their own countries in which their Jewish origin would have had no more recognition than other religions and all laws and all privileges could be enjoyed equally by all. In the light of history then, we see no essential connection between Zionism or political Judaism and the deliverance of the Jews from minority oppression, except by the unfortunate Jews themselves going from their several countries to some political Zion in which fairness to Jews has been established. This is not the Zionism of today which does not propose to gather within one political State all Jews, but only to have such a State in existence somewhere on the face of the earth, preferably in Palestine, and make it the symbol if not the influence for the liberation of Judaism. In other words, Zionism as defended today seems to possess no true analogies in history and promises to bear no practical fruit for improving the condition of Jews throughout the world. Furthermore, has not the world passed by the solution of minorities through their separate independent political statehood? Does it not aim today rather at a state in which all invidious discriminations shall cease? For the negro in America, for example, does not Zionism suggest his establishing somewhere some independent negro state? It is not along these lines that America seeks today to solve the negro problem.

We now come to the various arguments by which Zionism defends its right to establish itself in Palestine. One is the length of tenure of the land. Later we shall question the entire relevance of this argument, but here we will discuss the facts involved. The Jewish argument is biblical, and is based on biblical records. Back, far back, in the second millennium B. C. was not Palestine given to the Jew by divine promise? In subsequent years was not this promise redeemed by the actual conquest of the land and the establishment there of a Jewish Kingdom? Was not the period of the Exile of some thirty years a mere interlude terminated by the return from the Exile? The final Dispersion of the Jews and the building of an altar to Juniper on Zion Hill,

followed by the building called the Mosque of Omar on the same eminence, are these not mere historical accidents, even if the last events cover some 1900 years of history? Such is the Zionist claim to the historical tenure of Palestine by the Jews.

In opposition is the Arab argument. The Arab identifies himself with the Semitic races that are referred to in Scripture as "Canaanites." These he claims were the original inhabitants and owners of the land for centuries before the Jew appeared. The total period during which the Jewish race occupied the land as an independent nation is limited to some 329 years. And even if a divine offer of Palestine was made to the Jew, he proved unworthy of it and was driven into Exile as a disciplinary measure. Given a second chance in the days of Maccabees, he again proved unworthy and was dispersed finally as a race until not a single Jew was left in the Holy City. Nineteen hundred years have passed since, in which the land has been held by Arabs and their ancestors, until now when Jews seek to reestablish a forfeited claim, if claim there ever was, no less than nineteen centuries old. Now it is not to be denied that Christians in America have been deeply influenced by these biblical claims of the Jews, and this is exactly where the Arab complains that America has been responsive to the theory that Palestine belongs to the Jews by some legal right.

> "Free yourself," says the Arab, "from the incomplete, partial, and misleading biblical calendar and look at the history of Palestine through the more correct vision of secular history, and you will see that the argument of the length of tenure of the country lies on the side of the Arab title to this land and not at all on the Jewish side."

Baron de Bildt who for years was Swedish Minister to Egypt was asked recently on his return from America whether America was interested in Egypt and the Near East. His answer was:

> "Yes, on two main grounds. The one is archeological; the origin of the human race as portrayed in temples, sphinxes, and pyramids. The other is a biblical interest. Apart from this interest America is rather ignorant of the Near East."

We fear that there is much truth in Baron de Bildt's statement, and the Arab lament is that this affects America's view of Jewish rights to Palestine.

The author wishes, however, to raise here the question as to the force or value of any argument based on length of tenure of

a country. If this argument is granted, it has some interesting applications, the most obvious of which is the American claim to America. Should we not by this argument surrender America to the Indians, also Australia to the Aborigines, and New Zealand to the Maories? Indeed what country is there which does not go back to some recent invasion of it by its present inhabitants? The present writer is inclined to accept the world as it is and abandon all attempt at trying to set right, on the basis of abstract principles of justice, what has already occurred. The main point is to apply present-day conceptions of justice to present-day conditions, and go on. He would therefore regard this argument of tenure of Palestine as wholly irrelevant. But if it is to be applied on the basis of actual history, it would seem to lie with the Arabs rather than the Jews.

The second and perhaps the most quoted and misquoted of arguments having to do with Zionism is the Balfour Declaration. It will be worth while to quote here in full the letter of A. W. James Balfour on November 2, 1917, to Lord Rothschild, for there will be need to refer to it more than once in this study of Zionism. It runs as follows:

FOREIGN OFFICE
NOVEMBER 2ND, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

A. W. JAMES BALFOUR

The foregoing Declaration is as noteworthy for the numerous claims that have been crowded under the phrase, "view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people," as it is for the ignoring of the subsequent phrase,

"it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." To deal first with the claims that have been advanced under the phrase, "view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people," there will be noted the steady increase of Zionist claims submitted under this phrase. To read the story of Jewish claims following November 2, 1917, is to marvel at the uses made of the Balfour Declaration. "A national home" is said to be equivalent to "the national home" as though the only world home of Jewry. "National home" is made the equivalent of "political state," which was abundantly repudiated in several important official declarations. A statement, which as late as in the British Royal Commission's Report of 1937 was defined merely as "a statement of policy" is lifted to the level of a great national pledge of the British Empire. That which had its origin in an utterance of one country only is tacitly accepted today as an international committal to a serious political undertaking. But the greatest commentary on how the Balfour Declaration has been glorified today is in the mildness of the following statement of Weizmann himself when called upon by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference in Paris to answer the question put by Robert Lansing, as to the exact meaning of the term "a Jewish national home." "Did that mean autonomous government?" The reply of Weizmann was as follows:

> "The British Government did not want an autonomous Jewish Government, but merely to establish in Palestine under a mandatory power an administration, not necessarily Jewish, which would render it possible to send into Palestine 70,000 to 80,000 Jews annually."

This mild and placating statement, although followed by further claims that appear to deny or go beyond these introductory statements, illustrates the steady advance today in spirit and claims based on the quite inoffensive, really indefinite, utterances of the Balfour Declaration.

To complete the picture we now turn to the second British phrase in the same Declaration, "it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done that may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." How a Jewish State with political sovereignty could ever come into existence in accordance with these requirements baffles every imagin-

ation unless we picture the total displacement or elimination of the Arab in Palestine. With this condition in the Balfour Declaration, it is customary to associate the McMahon letter to King Hussein. These letters are used by the Arabs to set forth their claim that the British Government at the same time it was making the Balfour Declaration to the Jews are making a promise to turn all of the great area of Syria and Lebanon and Palestine and the hinterlands of these countries into a vast Arab Empire. The Jewish rebuttal to these claims lies in questioning whether Palestine was included in this great area or not. Antonius in his book records these letters and makes this claim, that Great Britain in her distress in World War I did include the offer of Palestine in the future Arab Kingdom of Feisal, son of Hussein. The question seems in doubt and for this reason the letters are not given prominence here. The independence of Greater Syria was the matter most to the front at that time and it may be that for this reason the status of Palestine was not given explicit definition. Furthermore, McMahon in his letter of July 23, 1937, to the London *Times* declares that it was not his intention to include Palestine in the pledge which he gave to the Emir in those letters. Leaving aside these Arab claims and the McMahon letters, we may still count as authentic and regard as insurmountable to every Jewish notion of an autonomous sovereign Jewish state in Palestine the added condition of the Balfour Declaration, "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

Summing up the argument that can be legitimately derived from the Balfour Declaration, it seems to be a promise for greater freedom to the Jews to settle in Palestine subject to some overruling power such as the British Mandatory Government in which Jews as civilians, together with Arabs and Christians, also as like civilians would enjoy civil and religious regulations and laws that would be equitable and just. This would meet in the writer's judgement the full meaning of "a national home," but he is not sanguine about composing practically under any common laws the aspirations of Jew, Arab, and Christian. The feasibility of the proposal however is another question and one to which we now come.

Hitherto we have been considering a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine from the point of view of the arguments put forth by the Zionist. Let us now consider the certain practical implica-

tions of the proposal which need to be weighed.

First to be noted is the fact that it proposes a Jewish commonwealth to be set up in the midst of fanatical opposition. The Arab accepts the Jew as a fellow Semite in economic relations and tolerates him as of another religion providing he be subordinate politically. But to have him the dominant race is to the Arab intolerable. Likewise to have the Jew independent and sovereign, set down in the midst of Arab and Moslem countries, has no parallel in history. Yet this Jewish State is often spoken of as forming a natural part of the great Near East. Its future economic success depends on its establishing friendly relations with the surrounding nations to which it should minister economically. We do not see how this fanatical opposition is to be composed even if a Jewish nation be set up in Palestine.

In the second place Palestine is without natural and adequate boundary lines. Some geographical areas have natural defences. England was spared a German invasion in this last war by virtue of its ocean defense of the Channel at its most vulnerable point. Egypt escaped German invasion by virtue of the Great Depression in its Western Desert. But Palestine through the ages has been the highway of wars and of the passage of armies from north to south and from south to north.

In the third place the land is really indivisible as between Arab and Jew. Particularly is this the case of Jerusalem, the sacred city, sacred to the three religions, Christian, Jew, and Arab. And at the moment, the Arab and Islam hold under complete and exclusive dominance both the Temple Area and the whole of Hebron. It is true that the Zionist Agency pledged at San Francisco in 1945,

> "the preservation of the personal and property rights as well as of the religions, linguistic and cultural rights of the Arab and other non-Jewish population of Palestine."

Go to Palestine and see today the economic life of Jerusalem divided between the Moslem Friday, the Jewish Saturday, and the Christian Sunday. Note how Jewish culture in Palestine is today seeking to enthrone the Hebrew language in its schools and great University. Then ask under what arrangement a Jewish commonwealth would be likely to fulfill its promises to the satisfaction of Arab or Christian. Also ask yourself why the Arab should be more likely to trust the impartiality of the Zionist in administering an even-handed government than the British as now or

as the Arab if Arab ideals are fulfilled. Does not the proposal of a Zionist commonwealth in Palestine appear more and more difficult practically?

Several implications of the Zionist proposal have not yet been clarified. One of the most important is that of citizenship. Will the assumption of citizenship in the proposed Palestinian State carry with it a renunciation of citizenship elsewhere? As we understand, the present Palestinian citizenship does not interfere with citizenship elsewhere. There is a clause in the Balfour Declaration which we did not quote and its meaning is not clear. It reads, "It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." Do these last words imply double citizenship? If they do, it may be observed that in the proposed Zionist State, it will not be for the Balfour Declaration to determine what America or any other country may do. It is not likely to tolerate double citizenship. Indeed in some countries the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine may lead to the Jew being banished from any other country and exiled to his Palestinian national home. Certainly the American Jew would regard such a consequence as a veritable tragedy.

In passing, this further comment may be advanced in respect to the Zionist proposal as it appears to Protestants. Is Judaism a race or religion? If it is a religion, have we given up the idea of separating Church and State? In politics is it not bedevilling enough to deal with racial political units: British, French, Roumanian, Russian, Chinese? Do we wish to add to present world animosities those of religion? We have regarded the political side of Roman Catholicism as irregular and undesirable. We have regarded the sovereign state assumptions of the Vatican as out of order and have refused to send to Rome a political ambassador. Do we mean now to abandon this policy and give our approval to a Jewish State? Nazism was objectionable to our democratic standards for many reasons. One certainly was its insistence on blood and race standards for nationality. Are we to accept today the blood and race standard of Judaism for its national requirements? These all are questions for us to answer as Americans and as Protestants. They are relevant to our consideration of the Jewish State, of the Vatican assumption, and in a lesser degree of the Arab-Moslem State.

In closing, we may try to pierce through what seems to be

purely political and ask ourselves what may be concealed legitimately to the Jew of today.

In the first place, he is to be accorded the utmost pity and consideration for what he has suffered. Of 16,725,000 Jews in the world before the war, there now remain by their own statistics only 11,000,000. Hitler is claimed to have achieved his aim in one respect at least: the extermination of the Jew in Europe. While American Jews maintained their place in science, through such men as Einstein and Bergson, the Jewish theological culture of Eastern Europe was wholly wiped out by those murdered by Hitler. The sufferings of war seem to have been focussed with particular venom upon the Jew and for this we owe him special consideration and relief.

In the second place we need to do justice to Jewish aspirations for the protection of his life and property and continued Jewish culture. On this we are in thorough agreement. Our dispute lies not with these legitimate aspirations but with the Zionist's method of attaining them, i.e. a Jewish State. We see no reasonable assurance of his attaining to justice and fair treatment by others by this road. The safer road is that called emancipation, by which he removes to a land where such liberties are freely accorded to him as a citizen. Such lands are now America, Britain, Russia and to a great degree certain other countries. An alternative to removal is to remain in his own country and bring that country to universal, unbiased laws applicable equally and impartially to all religions. In this, however, the Jew himself must contribute his part. He cannot segregate himself as an undigestible, unassimilable race or element in society. With him religion must be a force or way of life open to all with evenhandedness and not depend upon race and blood.

In the third place, we can see no hope for the Jewish political State in Palestine. Even its partial realization spells a continuous British or foreign Mandate to keep the peace between two hostile races and two hostile religions. This partial realization can only be effected by force; common understanding is impossible. The selection of Palestine for the realization of a Jewish State is of all places the most difficult and the least likely of success; past success has depended largely upon a river of gold that has been flowing freely from wealthy America chiefly and has awakened artificial conditions upon which extravagant hopes have been built. It is therefore our duty to endeavor to divert American

policy from its present unstudied directions and guide it to channels that are safe and reasonable.

Finally, there is every reason for drawing from this fateful rivalry of Arab and Jew the lesson that we should apply to all religious liberty and freedom everywhere; that religion is a spirit universal in its receptivity, adaptable to every condition of life, and applicable to all forms of human activity.

VI

THE TRAGIC FALLACY OF POLITICAL ZIONISM

By LEWIS GASTON LEARY

[*Dr. Lewis Gaston Leary, Presbyterian Minister and graduate successively of Rutgers, New York University, Union Theological Seminary, McCormick Theological Seminary and University of Vermont, embodies the best traditions of the American Protestant missionary movement. He taught in the American University of Beirut, then known as the Syrian Protestant College, from 1900 to 1903. He is the author of THE CHRISTMAS CITY, THE REAL PALESTINE TODAY, SYRIA THE LAND OF LEBANON and other books. The following article which appeared in the June, 1946 issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, published by the Division of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., is here reproduced with their permission and that of the author.*]

To a proposal that Missouri should be made a national home for the Jews, President Truman would undoubtedly object that the people who live in his state do not favor any such disposition of their commonwealth.

An exactly similar situation prevails in Palestine. The people who live in that country do not want to turn it over to the Jews. If there remain any shreds of the doctrine of self-determination, this should settle the matter. Neither Missouri nor Palestine desires to become a Jewish state.

Opposition to political Zionism is in no sense a manifestation of anti-Semitism.

> *The real anti-Semites are those who say, "The Jews must have somewhere to go; but we won't have them living anywhere near us, so let's ship them to Palestine."**

Nor is this opposition confined to Gentile groups. Zionism has never been more severely criticized than by a Jewish magazine *The American Hebrew;* the American Council for Judaism is

*The italics are the editor's and were not in the original.

now engaged in a strenuous anti-Zionist campaign. Rabbi Isserman's recently published *This Is Judaism* says that political Zionism "has been a liability to prophetic religion."

The belief that a present-day migration of Jews to Palestine is in some way connected with biblical prophecies is a distinctively Protestant idea, which the Zionist leaders themselves do not stress because they realize that these prophecies were fulfilled long ago when the Jews did return from their exile, as the prophets foretold.

Of broader appeal is the plea that Palestine should be given to the Jews because it is their Holy Land. But it is no less the Holy Land of the Christians and the Moslems. *Shall it be turned over to what is by far the smallest of the three religions to which it is holy?**

It is urged that Palestine should be a Jewish state because it used to be one. But before there ever was a Jewish state, or even a Jewish race, the ancestors of the present residents of the country lived there; they continued to live there after the Jewish invasion, and when finally the Jews fled from Palestine the sturdy aborigines remained in the land, which has thus been continuously occupied by the same racial stock for at least four thousand years. So far as historic tenure of the land is concerned, the Zionist argument turns on itself.

During the past few years our attention has been called to the new material prosperity which the Jewish immigration has brought to the Holy Land—to which a Palestinian friend of mine replied, "If my watch kept better time after I had been robbed of it, that would hardly reconcile me to its loss."

In the attempt to justify what we might call *"the case of the beneficient bandit,"** Zionist propagandists, Gentile as well as Jewish, have consistently pictured the inhabitants of Palestine as illiterate and shiftless nomads, who will suffer no special inconvenience from being shoved back into the desert where they belong. It is true that the bulk of the present native population, which had hardly begun to recover from the misrule of the Turkish sultans when it was subjected to the even more irksome tyranny of the Zionists, is not so well educated as the recent Jewish immigration. Also, lacking the large financial backing which the Zionist newcomers have, the native Palestinians have not been able to lay out great model farms, or rival Hollywood with a

*The italics are the editor's and were not in the original.

dream city like Tel Aviv. But is it a teaching of Christian ethics that the poverty and illiteracy of any people are sufficient grounds for depriving them of their fundamental human rights?

Given half a chance, the Arab* grasps eagerly every opportunity for education and personal betterment. My own observation as a teacher of both Arabs and Jews is that the former are the better students. This should not surprise anyone who remembers that the ancestors of these Arabs led the world in literature, mathematics, science, and philosophy at a time when few of the rulers of Europe could write their own names.

When some Christian fellow traveler writes down the Arabs as so hopelessly inferior to the go-getter Zionists as hardly to merit the consideration of us civilized folk, one wonders whether he has ever heard of such "Arabs" as Professor Saleeby, of Harvard; Professor Hitti, of Princeton; Professor Shibli, of Penn State; Rev. Kalil Bishara, of Brooklyn-Nassau Presbytery; vice-president Sadi, of the Chase National Bank; or Dr. Shatara, of the Long Island Medical College; and whether he has read the articles in *The Atlantic Monthly* by Abraham Rihbany, or the illuminating address which Dr. Tewfik Canaan recently made before the British-American Commission in Jerusalem.

To speak of the inhabitants of Palestine as nomads, and refer to its militant patriots as "tribesmen," is the height of absurdity. In my travels through the country I have come across a few small Bedouin camps—and in my travels through the United States I have seen a few small gypsy camps; but the Palestinian is no more a nomad than I am a gypsy. "The only time in my life that I ever slept in a tent," the president of the Arab National League said to me, "was while I was on a hunting trip in the Adirondacks."

If it is honest ignorance which persists in referring to the uprising of Palestinian patriots as an exclusively Moslem movement, it would seem that anyone so ill-informed is disqualified from further discussion of the subject. Every Moslem in the land is, indeed, irrevocably opposed to turning it over to any alien race. But every Christian in the land is equally irreconcilable in his opposition to political Zionism, while the thousands of Jews

*Since the appearance of the Zionist menace, the term "Arab," which used to be applied exclusively to the nomadic Bedouin, has been accepted by Palestinian, Syrian, and Lebanese leaders as the one available word descriptive of their common racial, linguistic, and cultural heritage.

who were living in Palestine prior to the advent of Zionism proved also to be in practically solid opposition to it. Many of these Palestinian Jews suffered persecution for their refusal to support the Zionist newcomers. "Why don't they leave us alone?" pleads President Magnes, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. "We have lived peacefully with the Arabs for generations."

In March of this year, the spokesmen for the Jews of Syria stated to the British-American Commission that they are enjoying the same constitutional rights and privileges that the Arab citizens possess, and therefore see no reason for taking sides with political Zionism. The Jews of the Lebanon Republic are apparently so uninterested in the Zionist controversy that up to the time of writing they have not sent any representatives to appear before the investigating commission. Abdul Rahman Azzam, secretary-general of the Arab League, told the commission that, prior to the rise of Zionism, "the Jews were our brothers and our cousins."

But today, because of the aggressions of political Zionism, the whole Arab world is seething with an ever-increasing resentment which is fast coming to include all Jews as equally deserving of punishment, and the storm of awful, needless calamity which far-sighted and spiritually minded Jews have long forseen may at any time engulf innocent and guilty alike in a common disaster the horror of which will shock even our war-hardened world.

To us Americans, modern Zionism has a peculiar religious and political significance.

> *Everyone zealous for Christian missions must feel a veritable heartbreak for the way in which the hasty and ill-advised indorsement of the Zionist program by Congress has nullified the sacrificial labors of generations of missionaries and educators, which had resulted in our country's holding a unique place in the respect and affection of Arab peoples. "America our friend!" Arabs now exclaim derisively. "The American Government has officially indentified itself with our Zionist enemies."**

And the tragedy lies in the fact that, from the viewpoint of every pious Jew who desired to live in his people's Holy Land and then sleep in its sacred soil, the whole pretentious scheme of political Zionism was absolutely unnecessary. Nobody had the slightest desire to interfere with any manifestation of religious ideal-

*The italics are the editor's and were not in the original.

ism. But Rabbi Isserman reminds us that *political Zionism "did not originate among deeply religious Jews."** If for no other reason, we who call ourselves Christians should throw all our influence against this perversion of historic Judaism because of the debt we owe to the Jewish race and religion; for, in the words of a great American Jew, Henry Morgenthau, Sr., political Zionism is "the most stupendous fallacy in Jewish history."

*The italics are the editor's and were not in the original.

VII

ZIONISTS AND THE BIBLE

By ALFRED GUILLAUME

[*Professor of Old Testament Studies in the University of London, formerly Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Durham, Professor Guillaume is co-editor of LEGACY OF ISLAM and author of several works on the Old Testament and Islamic studies. His article included in this collection appeared first as a pamphlet printed by Fosh & Cross Ltd., London. It is a criticism of the claim that the establishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine is prophesied in Holy Scripture.*]

I WISH TO MAKE IT PLAIN at the outset that my remarks are directed to one aspect of Zionist claims—the claim to fulfill scripture by the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine—and must not be interpreted in any other way or be taken to prejudice the claim of the Jews to be allowed to make a home in Palestine.

To a superficial reader it well might seem that a divine promise to give a land to a particular people made some four thousand years ago and often repeated, constituted that people owners of that land by divine right. Now if this is the Jewish title to Palestine it must be carefully scrutinized. Accordingly I propose to examine a few texts which are familiar to all practising Jews, and which have profoundly influenced some Christian bodies, particularly in America.

The points which are of importance are (1) to whom were the promises made? (2) What was the extent of the land which was promised? And (3) Was the promise irrevocable or was it subject to any conditions?

(1) The first explicit promise of Palestine to the descendants of Abraham was at Shechem (now Nablus) in Genesis xii, 7:

> 'Unto thy seed will I give this land'. Ch. xiii, 15, when Abraham is standing on a hill near Bethel, has the words: 'all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it and to thy seed for ever'. xv, 18 is more explicit: 'Unto thy seed have I

in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth
west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south; a
the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the
thee will I give it, and to thy seed, and thy seed shall be as
and to Jacob in xxviii, 12: 'the land whereon thou liest, to
the river Euphrates'. The promises are repeated to Isaac;
given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river,
blessed'.

When Abraham made a covenant with God through circumcision (xvii, 8) all the land of Canaan was promised to him as 'an everlasting possession'. Other passages might be quoted, but these are representative, and others add nothing that is relevant here.

Now it is generally supposed that these promises were made to the Jews, and to the Jews alone. But that is not what the Bible says. The words 'to thy seed' inevitably include Arabs, both Muslims and Christians, who can claim descent from Abraham through his son Ishmael. [Here we are not concerned with the Muslim tradition that Abraham was once at Meccah and left Ishmael there]. Ishmael was the reputed father of a large number of Arab tribes, and Genesis records that Abraham became the father of many north Arabian tribes through his concubine Keturah. It cannot be argued that the words of Gen. xxi, 10-12, necessarily cancel the promises made to Abraham's seed as a whole:

> '[Sarah] said to Abraham, Cast out this bond-woman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son Isaac. And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight on account of his son. And God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight because of the lad, and because of thy bondwoman: in all that Sarah said unto thee, hearken unto her voice; for in Isaac shall seed be called unto thee. And also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed'.

It is true that henceforth among the descendants of Isaac 'the seed of Abraham' was taken to mean the Israelites; *but from the beginning it was not so, and the descendants of Ishmael had every right to call and consider themselves of the seed of Abraham.*

Moreover, when the covenant of circumcision was made with Abraham (Gen. xvii) and the land of Canaan was promised as 'an everlasting possession', it was Ishmael who was circumcised: Isaac had not then been born.

From this brief study of the divine promise to the descendants

of Abraham we see that the first promise necessarily included all the descendants of Ishmael; but that afterwards in the time of Isaac and Jacob the promise was narrowed to their descendants, though not in such a way as to exclude explicity their Arab brethren; and it is well known that many Arabs accompanied Moses and Joshua into Palestine when the country was partially occupied; and not a little of Moses' success was due to the kindness and hospitality of Jethro the Midianite, who was of course an Arab and Moses' father-in-law.

(2) EXTENT OF THE PROMISED LAND

The second question as to what was the extent of 'The Promised Land' is a little difficult to determine. The passages quoted under (1) begin with a vague reference to 'this land' from the starting point of Shechem (Nablus), and go on to include all the area from 'the river of Egypt' to the Euphrates; the third passage speaks of Abraham's descendants spreading out in all four directions. Here, again, it is important to note that the promise of dominion from Nile to Euphrates was made before the birth of Ishmael and before the birth of Isaac, so that this territory was not to be necessarily and exclusively Israelite; and save for the short period when Solomon's authority was recognised in this area (I Kings iv, 21) it has always been in the possession of the Arabs.

Looking again at Gen. xiii, 15, it is clear that Transjordania was included in the promise to Abraham, because it would be plainly visible from the hill at Bethel; but this promise again predates the birth of Ishmael and Isaac, and so cannot be held to constitute an exclusively Israelite claim to the territory on the other side of the Jordan.

However, in the Book of Deuteronomy Moses told the people that God had commanded them to go in and occupy the country from the Mediterranean in the west to the Euphrates in the east, and from the Negeb in the south to the Lebanon in the north. These instructions the Israelites did not, or could not, carry out. They could not occupy the coast land which the Philistines held, and they never possessed the ports or the hinterland of Phoenicia. Some centuries later in the reign of David, they did gain possession of Damascus, and David entered into a treaty of friendship with Hiram, king of Tyre; so that when Solomon held a great service of dedication when the temple building was com-

pleted deputies came from as far north as the region of Hama and from the south as far as the modern El-'Arish. But before Solomon's reign had ended much of David's empire had returned to its former possessors. Everyone is aware that the process of attrition went on until the kingdom of Judea was confined to a few hundred square miles of land round Jerusalem, and even this was lost to the Babylonians in 597 B. C.

(3) WAS THE PROMISE IRREVOCABLE?

It will have been observed that two of the passages quoted under (1) use the words 'for ever' and 'everlasting' of what is to be a future Israelite occupation of Palestine. The same word stands for both the English renderings in the Hebrew original; and 'everlasting' is not the proper meaning. The word ('olam) means 'a long time', 'antiquity', 'futurity', and we read of 'days of old', 'waste places of old', 'gates of old', 'from the old', and similar expressions, all of which employ this word rendered above 'for ever', or 'everlasting'. Again, a psalmist says: 'I will sing for ever', an expression which the most literal interpreter of Holy Scripture can hardly suppose to be the literal meaning!

Thus, summing up the evidence so far adduced, one is forced to the conclusion that the land of Palestine was not originally promised to the Jews exclusively, and that the first promise was indefinite ('this land') and was subsequently enlarged to include Transjordan, Syria, the Lebanon, and the nomad's land as far as the Euphrates. Lastly we see that there never was an unconditional promise of an everlasting possession; though a long and indefinite period was intended.

We are now led to a stage of history and prophecy which bear more directly on current misunderstandings of Hebrew prediction. Had we no prophetic messages to guide us it would be apparent that these promises of possession of the land of Canaan were not unconditional: the covenant relation between Israel and God demanded loyalty from the people, and individual and corporate righteousness. Were the people to fail in these respects a terrible doom awaited them. The following words spoken by Moses in the 28th ch. of Deuteronomy apply in parts so easily to the sufferings of Jewry in the past few years that many have seen in them a prophecy of our own times:

> 'It shall come to pass if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God to observe to do all his command-

ments and his statutes which I command thee this day; that all these curses shall come upon thee and shall overtake thee. . . . And the Lord shall scatter you among the peoples, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth; and there thou shalt serve other gods, which thou has not known, thou nor thy fathers, even wood and stone. And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, and there shall be no rest for the sole of thy foot; but the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart and failing of eyes, and pining of soul: and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee. . . .'

Here it is clear that the divine promises to the patriarchs have been annulled by the national apostasy; and when the Assyrian captivity removed the population of Samaria, and the Babylonian captivity the people of Judah, the prophets saw in the disasters a vindication of the divine justice on a disobedient and gainsaying people.

But they taught their people that a remnant would return, and would restore the temple and the religious life of the community; and they looked forward to a time when the earth would be filled with the knowledge of the Lord. It is often forgotten that these men were inspired poets who mingled very practical matters like the Return from the Babylonian Exile with sublime pictures of the desert blossoming as the rose, the lion lying down with the lamb, men beating their swords into pruning hooks, and forsaking and forswearing war for ever. They also prophesied of setting up of the kingdom of David.

Unhappily, the practical was fulfilled and the ideal remained an ideal. Owing to the fact that the things that religious men yearn for were not realized when the Jews returned to Palestine there has been a tendency in the past to interpret not only the eschatological passages in the prophets but also the practical and political prophecies, of some time in the future; and as all prophecies in the Old Testament necessarily and inevitably centre round the Jewish people and their relations to God, the Golden Age is inseparable from the Holy City inhabited by holy Israelites. It would seem to be the hope of some that if the Jews could be returned to Palestine and form a state the Golden Age would, in some mysterious way, appear on earth.

But such views are a distortion of the Old Testament prophecies which predicted a return from Babylon and from all the lands

whither the Jews had been exiled. And these prophecies were fulfilled. The Jews did return to Judea, they did rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, and they did rebuild the temple; and after fluctuating fortunes they did secure a brief period of political independence and expansion under the Maccabbees. Thus the prophecies of the Return have been fulfilled, and they cannot be fulfilled again. Within the canonical literature of the Old Testament there is no prophecy of a second return after the return from the Babylonian Exile; because (a) after the Exile all the Jews who wished to do so had returned to the Holy Land, though a great many more preferred to remain where they were and formed the Diaspora which afterwards became the backbone of the Christian Church; and (b) the last of the prophets died centuries before the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70.

It would be possible to criticize the claims that Scripture phophesies Jewish supremacy in Palestine from the point of view of the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament; but this has been intentially ignored; and the Bible has been left to speak for itself.

Again, it would be possible to use the New Testament argument that the Church is now the Israel of God; but this seems inadvisable. This short study is in no sense a polemic; but a brief examination of what the Old Testament says on matters in which its authority has been invoked.

VIII

WHY NO PEACE IN THE HOLY LAND?

By THE REV. CHARLES T. BRIDGEMAN, S.T.D.

Sometime Residentiary Canon
of
the Anglican Cathedral, Jerusalem,
and
Archdeacon of Syria and The Lebanon

The approach of Christmastide inevitably draws our thoughts towards Palestine where in God's Providence the majestic drama of our Lord's incarnate life was enacted and the land rendered forever holy. Unfortunately our solemn meditations are rudely disturbed by daily reports of communal strife, terrorism and bloodshed occuring in this Holy Land. The promise of "peace on earth" seems far from realization in the distracted country.

What is the reason for this? What should be done to restore tranquility? What is the duty of Christians?

In a real sense there is no "Palestine problem." But there is a "world Jewish problem" which the nations of the world have sought to alleviate by permitting Jews to go to Palestine. The natives of Palestine, who were never consulted about the matter and have protested in vain against such use of their homeland, have made strong demonstrations of protest against what they consider an unwarranted intrusion. The British Government after a quarter of a century of vain effort to reconcile Arab and Jewish aspirations have come to the conclusion that it would indeed be undemocratic and unjust to ignore the Arabs' viewpoint. Meanwhile some aspects of the problems facing Jewry have become unbearably acute. So that now we see the ardent Zionist Jews, unmindful of all that British institutions have done for Jews and other minorities, violently attacking the British as the villian in the piece, because, forsooth, they do not permit the Zionists to override the wishes of the age long inhabitants of Palestine.

The real problem which we must face is what should be done to help the Jews of the world. But before attacking the problem

we should remember certain things about Palestine. Here is a country the size of New Hampshire, 10,000 square miles, with a climate and terrain like a miniature Southern California, half of which is so waterless that it is incapable of economic cultivation. Its resources are chiefly agricultural though of late years some unevenly successful efforts have been made to develop industry. The native population, which under modern British government has practically doubled in the last 25 years, numbers 1,200,000 and is growing by natural increase so rapidly that living space for another 800,000 must be found in a relatively few years. These people though speaking Arabic and calling themselves "Arabs" are not really Arabs at all. They are the Arabicized descendants of the most ancient inhabitants, Canaanites and Hebrews mixed with strains from Anatolia, Europe, Asia and more recently an Arabic strain coming from Arabia. Eighty-eight per cent are now Moslems, but 12 per cent are still faithful to the Christianity which once dominated the country. In addition to the proud Arab culture of the middle ages they have made notable strides in acquiring, under Christian and government auspices, large borrowings from modern European culture as well. The result is that they are among the best educated of the Middle Eastern peoples, with a good proportion of doctors, lawyers, teachers, writers, businessmen and government officials. The bulk of the people are of course farmers, but only 70,000 can be classed as nomadic Bedu. Such people are far from being untutored savages whose country can be disposed of without their consent. And when they are informed that but for the promises to the Jews they too could enjoy that self-government and political independence attained by neighboring Arabic peoples, they become livid with rage and demand immediate stoppage of Jewish advancement.

Many fair-minded Jews would admit that to trample upon Arab rights is rather rough on the Arabs, but plead the urgency of their people's need. But is there no solution of the world Jewish problem except at the expense of injustice to the Arabs? Let us look at it.

There are many millions, now perhaps some 12,000,000 people of Jewish faith scattered around the world, with approximately ten million of them in two countries: Russia and the United States. They are of many racial strains, because Judaism like Christianity and Islam has been an international and proselytizing faith, with but a slender thread of genuine Semitic blood still connecting

most of them with the original Jews of Palestine. Yet because of their faith they have been relatively isolated in times past from the other peoples among whom they have lived and in their minority condition have emphasized the religious and cultural bonds which have united them with co-religionists elsewhere. As a minority, and often a very strange one, they have been subjected to dislike and at times violent persecution on the part of the people among whom they were born. "Anti-Semitism," as it is somewhat inaccurately called, springs from primitive, irrational hates and is strongest just where free rein is given, as in primitive society and the modern Nazi state, to those brute passions. On the other hand where modern liberal democratic ideals are respected and exalted the plight of the Jews and other minorities is vastly improved, and on the way to being permanently solved. In the century and a half between the French Revolution and the rise of Nazism the position of the people of Jewish faith steadily improved in every modern country.

Zionism arose as a counsel of dispair when this battle was more than half won. It sought to convince the Jews that they were not merely a religious community but a race apart and a thwarted nation which could not, and indeed should not, be integrated into the national life of their respective birthplaces. Zionism attributed the unhappiness of the Jews to their being a "homeless" people; and sought to re-establish national life and self-respect by recreating a Jewish State, which for sentimental reasons they said could be nowhere but in Palestine.

The Zionist program, while it made a certain religious and sentimental appeal to many Jews, only found acceptance as a practical program among Jews in very adverse conditions, as for instance in Poland. Few Jews from Germany, Austria, France, Britain or the United States ever wished to go to Palestine as settlers. Then came the recrudescance of barbarism under Hitler in 1933. Jews in one country after another in the old and respected European Jewish centres were harried, thrust out and compelled to wander. Yet more were caught in the war and ruthlessly slaughtered. Only a remnant remains. Some can resettle in the old homes but perhaps 350,000 must get out of Europe and find new homes.

Not unnaturally the political Zionists who had long dreamed of and preached the concentration of all Jews in Palestine now demanded that the country be opened wide to succour the refugees.

Now if ever was the time to win their objective: Jewish State in Palestine.

But is this the only or the best solution of the problems of people of Jewish faith?

Zionists will say that it is the only solution because no other country has raised a finger to offer a real refuge for displaced Jews. What does that mean? That while we Christians in America and the British Commonwealth of Nations shed copious tears at the sufferings of the Jews under Hitler, we do not lift a finger to really help them. It is true. We keep the doors of the U. S. A. so closely guarded that hardly 20,000 have entered in the past year. The American people charge Britain with inhumanity and cruelty because she does not open wide the gates of Palestine to unlimited Jewish immigration, and paint before her the sufferings of the displaced persons still in "concentration" centres, while we callously close our own ears to the cries of scores of thousands who would like to join their relatives in this country. We demand that the Arabs of Palestine admit such a flood of Jews as would soon change it from a predominantly Arab to a predominantly Jewish country but ourselves refuse to allow in a number which would effect at most a change of less than one-third of one per cent in our population composition. If the Zionists are right that Palestine is the only country open to the tragic remnants of the murder camps, then we stand condemned as a callous people who add to their infamy by conniving at an injustice in Palestine in order to avoid confessing their own hard-heartedness.

But is the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine the best solution after all? The answer can be "Yes" only if the people of Jewish faith, here and elsewhere, insist that they are an unassimilable, permanently alien race which must be segregated; and only if we admit that our democracy has failed and there is no intention or desire to find a way of admitting to full participation in our national life people who are like us in every respect except that of certain points in theology.

Personally I do not believe the vast majority of Jews here or elsewhere wish so to be classed. Nor do I think we as democrats and even more as Christians are ready to admit that we have no place for religious minorities.

Peace and goodwill will return to the Holy Land when the world Jewish problem is so far along towards a solution that Jews will

not be desperately seeking to crowd there as the only available refuge from anti-Semitic storms. The urgent refugee problem will be solved when we make up our minds to behave like Christians and open our national gates to our fair, and obviously large, share of displaced peoples, whether they be Jews or others. And the whole position of Jews in the world will be advanced when we as Christians and our Jewish neighbors get down to solving the relatively few problems which have caused friction in the past.

Not the Arabs, not the Jews, not the British Government are to blame for murder in the Holy Land: it is we in this country and Christian people in general who are to blame. The best Christmas gift we can make to the land God chose for the manifestation of His Gospel of Love would be for us to succour those who have hitherto looked to us in vain, been coldly rebuffed, and told to go bother someone else.

In short: when we become "men of good will" towards people of Jewish faith, we may hope for peace for them and for the Holy Land.

IX

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE ARABS OF PALESTINE

By ANN PUTCAMP

[*The author of the following letter, which appeared as a supplement to the Institute's Bulletin, September 15, 1946, is a lecturer and writer on Bible history and the Near East. She received her education at Colorado University and at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.*]

THIS COULD PERHAPS be more properly called "An Apology to the Arabs of Palestine"; for it is an apology in the sense of deep regret and chagrin. It is also an attempt to explain to a loved friend the stupidities, inconsistencies and effrontery of a beloved close relative. The friend is Palestine, the relative is the United States of America, and I do apologize for my country. If the wrongs we do you do not extend beyond all reason, I pray that the Arab Federation of States and the United States of America may learn to be real friends in understanding, sympathy and respect.

Please do not think we are a race of ignorant men. We do have too many interests, many of them not selfish; but we are still too self-sufficient and mentally lazy to exert ourselves for real information or as a guiding force in our government. And we know woefully little of the affairs of others. For instance, the Postmaster of a small city in one of our states refused to send a parcel to Jerusalem because, according to him, it was not "a place," it was "in the Bible." Very few Americans have the vaguest idea that the Arabs live, and have lived for thirteen hundred years, in Palestine. They only know that the Jews want to go there and wonder why the British will not let them.

Such ignorance is inexplicable to you, I know, and yet it was shared in part by Lord Balfour, author of the now famous but misinterpreted Balfour Declaration. He visited Palestine for the first time, some years after this declaration; and, in evident bewilderment, asked his dinner companion who the long-robed gentle-

men were whom he saw everywhere in Palestine. When she told him they were Arabs, he said, "I did not know the Arabs lived in Palestine." You may not believe this story. I did not when I first heard it, although a reputable University instructor told it to us. But later Professor John Garstang, Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem for many years, told the story at a series of meetings on the Near East in Chicago. I confirmed it, at his suggestion, through Mrs. Garstang, who was Lord Balfour's dinner companion; and have repeated it frequently with her permiession.

If the author of the Balfour Declaration had not even investigated the population of Palestine, the negligence of the American people and of the American Congress and President in this and other matters is perhaps understandable. The population of Palestine in 1915 was approximately 565,000 or 87% Arabs and 85,000 or 13% Jews.

You may rightly refer to the many declarations made by your people and to excellent books written on ancient and Islamic history and on the Modern Arabic world; but these books are in our libraries in very meager quantity, except in college and other student collections, and they are used largely by specialists who are already rather well informed. Many of these books and pamphlets which could have been circulated have been stolen in recent years. One, notably, *Palestine*: *The Reality* (London, 1939) by J. M. N. Jeffries, which told the whole truth about Zionism and the betrayal of the Arabs after World War I, has disappeared completely from all the libraries and book shops in the United States and Great Britain. I was reading it little by little, when it was on the reserve shelf of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, when it was stolen. All other copies in Chicago, as far as I know, disappeared at about the same time. The Oriental Institute Library naturally wanted a copy and so did I; so the book was advertised for through professional and business channels, to no avail. The next year, an English girl, a missionary teacher from China who kept contact with a British firm, assured me that they could locate any book for us. She asked them to make an exhaustive search for copies of the book in England. There were none.

Do you begin to see why Americans, including many Jewish people, know so little about your people and the true situation in Palestine, while we are fed to saturation on Zionist propaganda,

built on the stark but irrelevant facts of Jewish misery in half the world—irrelevant, because the refugee problem should be and should have been handled with no reference to the Palestine problem? That is another of our unforgivable stupidities. We allow these tragically mistreated, mentally and physically ill men, women and children to continue their sufferings while we quibble over Palestine, instead of getting together as humanitarian nations and opening our doors and our hearts to them all. We should now have in operation plans for rehabilitation and healing which the people of America and other nations, I know, would carry out with sympathy and consecration if given the opportunity to do so. Our nations would gain by the influx of these potentially fine citizens; for the Jews—as a survey of the facts shows—contribute always to the cultural, professional and democratic upbuilding of any nation. I know you agree with me in this appraisal of the people of Jewish faith; for you are opposing, not the "people of The Book," but political, nationalistic Zionism.

As of 1938, the 85,000 Jews had increased to 400,000 or 28% of the total population; the 565,000 Arabs to 1,007,000 or 72%. The terms of the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate were being violated; for the Zionists were demanding that Palestine become a Jewish State and were, quite openly, asking for Trans-Jordan also, less openly for Syria. At long last the British made a just and courageous decision, embodied in the White Paper of 1939. Some of my Arab friends in Palestine, when I was there for a year of study (1936 and '37) assured me they would eventually receive justice at British hands. The White Paper limited immigration to 75,000 more, over a period of five years, and promised statehood for Palestine in ten years, or in 1949, with an appropriate governing body, representative of the people, to be set up in 1944. This would have been in the proportion of seven Arabs to three Jews.

At the time I rejoiced in your promise of independence, which every right-thinking American wants for all people; and I was greatly relieved that the Jews were to be freed from the Zionist travesty of a home which could only eventually bring further disillusionment to an already too-long suffering people. I had seen too vividly the beginning of the recent Zionist terrorism in their mis-training of helpless children.

And then we, political parties and misguided individuals of the United States of America, stepped in, with a "zeal not according to

knowledge," with emotion and ignorance—very dangerous partners—with political expediency as an ugly spectre in the background and espoused the "cause" of Zionism. For several years I have written to Presidents, to framers of party platforms and to Congressmen. In my capacity as a lecturer, I have talked, and received better response in several American cities and towns, trying not to fight Zionism so much as to help our people to understand you, the Arabs, the majority people of Palestine.

In spite of your present disappointment and disgust with us, I know your hearts would be touched to see how eager most of our people are to find out the truth, once they have taken the first step toward it. The faces of audiences gave me hope and I retain the faith that, with God's help, our nation, as Britain was, may be led to be fair to you and to all people; that the Arab Federation of States, complete with Palestine, may prosper and grow in strength and justice to all men, and that each nation of the world, under the United Nations Charter, may include in its populations majorities and minorities, new and old, of every race and creed living in mutual respect.

If this is Utopia then we must work for it; for Utopia will never be handed us on a silver platter. This letter to you is in the hope that hearts may reach over the barriers of bigotry and ignorance and stupidity and that we may do our bit to bring forth the mutual understanding we all need so desperately in this small and overcrowded world.

With faith in your future; no matter what the next months may bring, I am,

Yours very respectfully,

ANN PUTCAMP

Denver, Colorado.

X

ZIONISM AS IMPERIALISM

By FRANK C. HANIGHEN

[Mr. Hanighen is a newspaper man, magazine writer and editor. He served as foreign correspondent for the NEW YORK POST and PHILADELPHIA RECORD in 1935, 1938 and 1939. He is co-author of MERCHANTS OF DEATH and author of other books. The following article appeared in the September 18, 1946 issue of HUMAN EVENTS, of which Mr. Hanighen is one of the editors. It is here reproduced with the kind permission of Mr. Hanighen and of HUMAN EVENTS.]

ALMOST A CENTURY before American Zionist organizations gathered in Madison Square Garden to demand help from President Truman, that auditorium's ancestor, Castle Garden, witnessed a similar demonstration.

Kossuth, the leader of the Hungarian independence movement, arrived in New York in 1851 and the Garden was thronged with enthusiastic admirers. Other welcomes throughout the country followed, not to mention some fair words from Secretary of State Daniel Webster. Americans demanded freedom for Hungary; denounced Austrian oppression of the Magyars.

But ere long Kossuth returned to Europe, empty-handed and embittered, without the men, material and money which he had hoped to get from the American Government. Henry Clay had explained to him that we had a foreign policy which forbade interference in the affairs of other countries. Kossuth and those Americans profoundly devoted to his cause suffered the same disillusion which is the lot of the Zionists today.

The Zionist cause, to be sure, is not an exact parallel to that of Kossuth. But the American sympathy for that cause is of the same general character as that manifested often during the past 150 years for various oppressed nationalities. A long list could be compiled of all the racial pressure groups—Irish, Poles, Armenians, Chinese, etc.—which have drawn the support of other Americans in their efforts to obtain liberation for the lands from

which they emigrated.

This meddling in foreign quarrels has been the despair of those who have aspired to create a truly American foreign policy. Often Americans who headed committees for the freedom of this or that nationality seemed like that Mrs. Jellyby in *Bleak House* who left her home in disorder to go forth and battle for the oppressed Africans.

Impracticable or not, the interest of Americans in such causes must be recognized as a part of the great tradition of American idealism. Despite the charges that Jewish money and votes have dictated our policy toward Palestine, there is indeed an altruistic impulse behind White House declarations for a Jewish State in Palestine. No human being could remain insensitive to the recent sufferings of the Jews in Europe nor to their desire to emigrate. Moreover, the tragedy and romance of the Jewish epic has quite naturally captured the American imagination.

But the Palestine imbroglio is actually not at all in the same category as the nationalistic causes which have attracted American sympathy in the past. It is perhaps politically profitable to portray the Palestine story as a fight between Jews and the British Empire. But the American attitude might be drastically modified if it were generally realized that a decisive factor in the problem has been largely ignored.

When Jews after the last war began to flock to Palestine, they found it inhabited, not by aboriginal tribes of small numbers and negligible cohesion, but by a talented people who had lived in Palestine for 2,000 years, with roots deep in the soil to which they were strongly attached, with a history, literature, art and culture worthy of respect. It was the Jews' misfortune that the Arabs who lived in Palestine had begun to awake, nationally and culturally, after centuries of Turkish rule. "Revolt in the Desert" was recognized and fostered at first by the British. A number of Arab States, of varying degrees of independence, arose after the last war. Their existence as States was inspiration for Arab nationalism in Palestine resulting in Arab outbreaks both against the British and Jews, notably in 1928 and 1936.

*Jewish immigration has aroused the opposition of Palestine Arabs because it is a threat to their national survival, not because it is Jewish.** The Arabs would as stubbornly oppose the incursion of 500,000 Italians or Frenchmen. The Arab reaction is based on

*The italics are the editor's and were not in the original.

the desire for freedom from foreign control, and "self-determination." This Wilsonian principle, it should be remembered, is the accepted political expression of our traditional sympathy for foreign nationalistic causes.

The fact is that Zionism, as many Jews now admit, is a form of political nationalism. But it is more than that. Because of the involved political and territorial circumstances which Zionists had to exploit, this budding nationalism developed at the start as a queer kind of imperialism. Here is a unique case of a people, dispersed for centuries, returning to re-conquer their homeland. But the fact of conquest definitely places the undertaking in the category of imperialism.

*Zionists had to erect their projected political state on the unsound moral foundation of the expropriation of a native people.** The little imperialism was fostered at first by the greater imperialism of the British Empire. No longer a fledgling, the Zionist imperialism now challenges the original sponsor, without which it could not have arisen and probably cannot indefinitely exist.

There are only a handful of Beirut College graduates in America to tell this story, and their voices are lost amid opposing arguments. There are no Arab votes to make Congressmen and the Administration listen. On the other hand, Zionists play an important and brilliant part in American intellectual life and they have numerous and well-financed organizations.

*Zionist nationalism started pick-a-back on British imperialism.** There is no evidence for accusations that the British agreed to the Balfour Declaration of 1917 so as to win over Jewish sentiment in the United States, and thereby help to bring this country into the war. But, as the headquarters of Zionism had been Berlin, and as it was feared Germany would persuade Turkey to give Jews a national home in Palestine, both Britain and France were by no means averse to a counter maneuver. There is little doubt that Palestine's importance to the Suez Canal and the British lifeline to the East was a primary consideration. These circumstances shaped the imperialist development of Zionism.

The first steps were hesitant, much to the credit of the Jews. The Jewish community of Great Britain was actually opposed to the Balfour Declaration. The community's leaders were in favor of "cultural Zionism" the making of Palestine into a *spiritual* center for Jewish thought and culture; but they wanted none of

*The italics are the editor's and were not in the original.

any Zionist political state there or elsewhere, nor of any special political rights for Jews. Their case was stated in a very outspoken letter to the London *Times,* May 24, 1917, signed by David L. Alexander, President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and Claude G. Montefiore, President of the Anglo-Jewish Association—the two most powerful British Jewish organizations. It said in part that the British Jews feared a Jewish political state in Palestine would:

> "have the effect throughout the world of stamping the Jews as strangers in their native lands, and of undermining their hard-won position as citizens and nationals of those lands."

This letter displayed much foresight.

It would be a mistake to think that American Jews are less prescient. The leading article in the August number of *Commentary,* a new Jewish intellectual magazine which takes a critical attitude toward political Zionism, is entitled "Nationalism is the Enemy." Its author, Ernest Munz, points out that Political Zionism is nationalism. "Zionism was a true offspring of the combination of nationalism and neo-romanticism that characterized the Nineteenth Century." Munz concludes: "the time has come [for the Jews] to fight political nationalism *uncompromisingly and on principle,* inside Jewish life, as well as outside."

This spirit has been otherwise expressed on the political plane by the rise of the Council for Judaism, a Jewish anti-Zionist organization, fighting in the "battle of committees." Indeed some disintegration of the Zionist front seems in progress, with many Jews and Zionist organizations moved to reconsideration of Zionism since the King David Hotel bombing outrage. Some of this revolt of American Jews against orthodox Zionism may derive from the thinking of such organs as *Commentary.* But the American Jewish community is also increasingly aware of the developing world struggle for power. As Americans, they have begun to sense a contradiction between their pro-Zionist inclinations and the muddled outlines of American power politics.

Russia's expansionism has split Big Three harmony and thrown Britain and the United States into a *de facto* alliance. *The developing struggle between the two sides has few points of friction more dangerous than that of the Near East.* Russia is strenuously courting the Arabs in that area; and Britain is rebuilding its fences among the Arab States. Zionism has become a tragic card in this furious diplomatic game.

Republican politicos may think it smart work to beat the Zionist drum in an effort to outbid Democrats for the Bronx vote. They are unwittingly tinkering with great and dangerous forces. For the new Arab movement is a part of the great Moslem world, with 300,000,000 followers spread over Asia and Africa.

That part of the American dream which looks to a "new Jerusalem" may suffer a terrible disillusion in the process of forcing a Jewish state in Palestine. Only a free and peaceful solution, satisfactory to Arab and Jew alike, can provide a sound basis for the future of this area. America can play a constructive role not only by clarifying the issue, but also by refraining from irresponsible interference.

The American dream of a free Jewish Palestine may well be more than slightly out of repair by the time the politicians and newspaper impressarios turn their hands to other topics. *It is not for the Gentiles to lecture Jews. But Gentiles should stop trying to exploit Jewish voters and readers for election and circulation purposes.** In the sensible words of Judge Proskauer, "now is the time for neither bomb nor bambast."

*The italics are the editor's and were not in the original.

XI

THE PALESTINE ISSUE AND AMERICAN INTERESTS

By ERNEST LINDLEY

[*The following Article appeared in The Washington Post on August 8, 1946. It is reproduced here with the permission of The Register and Tribune Syndicate and that of Mr. Lindley. Ernest Lindley is a well-known reporter and columnist and a radio commentator for the British Broadcasting Corporation since 1942. He is the author of three books on Franklin D. Roosevelt.*]

WE HAVE REACHED a stage in our national development where our foreign policy as a whole expresses our national interest. Our national interest may be interpreted broadly in terms of a quest for general security—as in our leadership in the organization of of the United Nations and in the American plan for international control of atomic energy. It may be interpreted narrowly. The men who make the decisions may be right or wrong, or wise or short-sighted. But, with respect to most points in our foreign policy, they are free to make up their minds what is best for the nation as a whole.

This is a great advance over the period in which very great, if not the first consideration had to be given to the interests of clamorous minorities—the Irish-Americans, the German-Americans, the Italian-Americans, the Polish-Americans and others. The hyphenated groups have not yet disappeared, but with the passage of time many of them have become so thoroughly Americanized that they think first of the United States.

There are still some questions of foreign policy, however, on which minorities with special interests are powerful, or at least clamorous, enough to hinder the formulation and application of policies in the interest of the United States as a whole. The most conspicuous and troublesome example is the Palestine question.

American policy on the Palestine question is being greatly influenced by a minority which is putting its interest in Zionism

first. Some of the politicians think that this minority can swing elections in ten or more States. Its power may be over-estimated. Many Jews are not Zionists. And many who support the Zionist movement have too broad an interest in world peace and are too patriotic to put this particular enterprise above other considerations in casting their votes. Yet the residue of Zionist-first may be large enough to turn a close election in some States. At any rate, a good many politicians think it is; and, as a result, the tendency, in framing American policy with respect to Palestine, is to subordinate the interest of the United States to vote-grabbing.

The state of mind of the European Jews who want to go to Palestine arouses compassion. Many who have survived the horrors of Nazism are eager to leave the scenes of their ordeals. They are impelled also by the recrudescence of persecutions in Poland.

But Palestine cannot be the solution for all the Jews of Europe. Much less can it be the solution for all the unhappy, fearful and persecuted peoples of Europe. Hundreds of thousands of Europeans are afraid to return to their former homes and millions are unhappy where they live. The Russian-dominated states in eastern Europe are dangerous places for people who believe in democracy and liberty. The European Jews today have no unique claim to our sympathy.

Apart from these humanitarian considerations, which reduces Palestine to a fraction of a broader problem, there are several important American interests to be kept in mind.

Our position in the Middle East and our relations with the Arabs, and with the Mohammedan world as a whole, are important. The position of Britain, our closest and most useful ally in the recent war and in the making of the peace, and the most stalwart democracy, next to our own, is also of great importance to us.

If the Zionist zealots have their way, every one, including the Palestine Jews, may lose—except Russia. And the Russians, too, may lose eventually.

But the Zionist-Americans are so active in promoting their special interest that it is difficult for responsible officials to frame our policy on Palestine with a view to the interests of the United States and of the peace of the world, instead of to the collecting of some marginal votes on election day.

XII

SHOULD JEWISH REFUGEES BE ADMITTED TO PALESTINE NOW?

A Radio Broadcast
BY
Carl J. Friedrich and John G. Hazam,
WITH
Dwight Cooke
Acting as Moderator

[*ON COLUMBIA'S "People's Platform," June 2, 1946, Dr. Carl J. Friedrich, Professor of Government, and author of "American Policy Toward Palestine," and Dr. John G. Hazam, Professor of History, City College of New York, President of the Institute of Arab-American Affairs, debated this timely question. Dwight Cooke acted as moderator. This is reprinted by kind permission of TALKS, Vol. II, No. 3.*]

Dr. Friedrich: The Jews bore the brunt of the attack of our common enemy, Hitlerite Germany. They were the first and they were the ones that suffered most deeply. My attitude is that we owe them reparation on a large scale, and reparation on a large scale has to take the form, in a democratic country, of asking: What do yon want? And we know that they say: We want to go to Palestine.

Dr. Hazam: I quite agree that the western world owes the Jews something. But the Arab does not necessarily owe the Jews anything. The debt is a western debt and not an eastern debt.

Dr. Friedrich: I don't agree with you at all.

Dr. Hazam: The fact of the matter is that the Jew in Europe has been persecuted from century to century, and that every time he was persecuted the place he went to was the Near East, and it was here that they received him, succored him, allowing him to remain and tolerated him, every time the Europeans expelled him from Europe. In other words, it was the Arabs who have done something for the Jew; it is the Christians of western Europe who

have done something against the Jew. And since this problem is a Christian problem, a European problem, the Christians should solve it at their own expense, not at the expense of the Arab.

DR. FRIEDRICH: I'm not going back to the Middle Ages, Mr. Hazam; I'm talking about our present situation, because we can't solve the problems that arose in the time of the great Turk. And what I'm talking about when I said I didn't agree with you is that the Jews actually, in large numbers, joined the British Army to fight the Hitlerites that were invading North Africa. What did the Arabs do in Egypt? Nothing. They sat by, not paying the slightest attention . . .

DR. HAZAM: Churchill's statement was that he didn't want them to do anything. He asked the British Government not to have them enter the war at all. He felt that is was to British interest that they should not enter the war. But they also did many other things for the British and for the Allies. Even in Palestine, nearly ten thousand Arabs volunteered to join the Army. They fought in Notrh Africa.

DR. FRIEDRICH: Ten thousand out of 1,200,000, as against 25,000 out of 600,000.

DR. HAZAM: What did you expect them to do, after what was done to them in 1917 and subsequently?

DR. FRIEDRICH: They were liberated in 1917, weren't they?

DR. HAZAM: They weren't given independence. They simply had the yoke changed from a Turkish yoke into a British yoke. What they wanted was independence.

DR. FRIEDRICH: I'd much rather be under a British yoke than under a Turkish yoke, wouldn't you?

DR. HAZAM: As determination between two evils, that is correct, but not, however, for independence, which the British had promised them in 1915.

DR. FRIEDRICH: They didn't promise the Arabs of Palesetine independence.

DR. HAZAM: I am sorry to say that that document has been very much questioned by some Englishmen, but the Arabs—because the thing was written originally in Arabic—claimed that the document does promise Palestine to the Arabs.

DR. FRIEDRICH: Well, the gentleman who drew up the document, himself wrote to the "London Times," in 1937, making quite clear

that Palestine was exempted from that particular commitment. He ought to have known.

DR. HAZAM: In addition to the 1915 document, there are half-a-dozen other documents: the promises made to seven of the Arab leaders in Egypt, also promises made by Allenby when he entered Jerusalem, there are promises made in 1918, in November; the Allies in a joint statement said they were going to give independence to all the Arabs, which obviously means Palestine as well.

DR. FRIEDRICH: But those were conditional promises, and Lawrence of Arabia, who was one of the great friends of the Arabs, said the Arabs had not come across and they were entitled to nothing. And Lawrence of Arabia was one of those who were ardently in favor of Palestine as a Jewish national home.

DR. HAZAM: I don't think he said exactly that, Mr. Friedrich. What he said really was that many of the promises made to the Arabs have already been fulfilled. One of the major difficulties that have been created in the thinking of the Western mind lies in the fact that they have confused the problem of rescuing the refugee Jews of Europe—and they need rescue—with the political question of what to do with Palestine—whether to make it an Arab or a Jewish State. These two problems are entirely distinct and different.

DR. FRIEDRICH: I don't think those things are distinct and different. I think that the Arabs, in this war as in the last one, let themselves largely be defended by Western arms, including Jewish arms, and I think they are involved . . .

DR. HAZAM: I beg your pardon! Jewish arms in the first World War? After all, Feisal and his troops and his armies, coming in from the desert, conquered that whole Trans-Jordanian area and much of Syria and Damascus and elsewhere. What Jewish army existed at that time?

DR. FRIEDRICH: The Jews were in the western armies. They were in the British Army; they were in the American Army, and they participated in the war . . .

DR. HAZAM: They were there as Austrians and Americans and Englishmen and so on, not as Jews, not as Zionists.

DR. FRIEDRICH: They still were Jews.

DR. HAZAM: There were Baptists there, too and Methodists and others, but that doesn't necessarily mean that that group is fight-

ing as a group of Methodists or of Baptists.

DR. FRIEDRICH: But it does mean, in a democracy, that Baptists can come in and say: Here, we were fellow-citizens and this is what we did.

DR. HAZAM: Well, all right, if you want to put it on the basis of religion, let's have about the 1,500,000 Moslems that fought on the British side during that second war.

DR. FRIEDRICH: I'm not putting it on the basis of religion.

DR. HAZAM: But you are. You said Jews, as Jews, obviously.

DR. FRIEDRICH: I'm not saying that they're Jews as a matter of religion. They're Jews as a national group and, therefore, because they fought on the side of the Allies in this war, they're entitled to a national home. The Jews in their whole ideology and national tradition are at the very center of the ideology of democracy and freedom.

DR. HAZAM: I'm sorry to say that there are many Jews themselves who do not agree that the Jews are a nationality. They say the Jews are merely a religious and cultural group.

If they were a nationality, they'd be entitled to have a national State at the expense of the Europeans in such places as the Europeans may find for them, outside of the Arab area. In other words, this problem of finding a home for the Jews is not a problem that is exclusively an Arab one. It's a problem that involves the whole world, the whole of humanity. Here are a people in distress. It is up to humanity to find a place for them, and not at the expense necessarily of any one people, any more than taking all these people and bringing them to the United States, or to Canada, against the will of the people of these countries.

DR. FRIEDRICH: It's the essence of a national home. You can't establish a national home for the Danes in South Africa because they happen to have their national home in Denmark. The Jewish people, as a people, consider Palestine their national home. It has been in their religion and cultural tradition as their national home for—I don't know—two thousand or three thousand years.

DR. HAZAM: That, I understand very well. But also the Arabs, who live there, consider Palestine as their national home, too, and they've been there for 1,300 years. And they are the majority there now; they've been the majority there from the 7th Century down to the present. And no minority may come in from outside

and take over control of the political life of the country from them, in a form of immigration or otherwise, because this is not immigration; it's invasion—because they come in there against the will of the people of the country.

DR. FRIEDRICH: If you were right, virtually all the proposed settlements in connection with cleaning up the Fascist mess all over the world would be impracticable, because there are all kinds of people taken out of what they consider their national home and put elsewhere.

DR. HAZAM: But you don't put them in a specific spot; you put them in whatever spots you can find for them, you see—anywhere in the world. You don't deliberately select one little corner of the world which is already over-populated and say you must put them here; especially those who do the selecting of such a spot are people in countries ordinarily whose population is already sparse in such places as America, such places as Australia and elsewhere. You don't blame them for not taking these refugees, but you do blame the Arabs for not taking them.

DR. FRIEDRICH: But that's not the analogy. The analogy is . . . the Poles are in a somewhat similar position to the Jews. They bore the brunt of the early attack of the Nazis. Consequently, we asked the Poles what they wanted. We didn't say: you go to America, or you go to Australia.

DR. HAZAM: The agreement made in 1939 was that no Jews, after a period of five years, shall be admitted into the country against the will of the majority of the population. And the majority of the population was Arab.

DR. FRIEDRICH: The thing that puzzles me is this expression "agreement." I don't know who agreed with whom. The British issued a White Paper which the League of Nations' Mandates Commission held to be contrary to the mandate, and in this White Paper they announced the policy. The Arabs rejected this policy, the Jews rejected it.

DR. HAZAM: If that is not an agreement, then neither is the Balfour Declaration an agreement.

DR. FRIEDRICH: I never said it was an agreement.

DR. HAZAM: . . . British imperialists tying up with Jewish nationalists. And they agreed to that, secretly, among themselves, without consultation with the Arabs whatsoever, and then, subse-

quently, they proceeded to implement the Balfour Declaration with a mandate, which also was an agreement between the Zionists on the one hand and the British on the other and the Arabs having nothing to say about it whatsoever. That Balfour Declaration says merely that it "views with favor" the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine.

DR. FRIEDRICH: I'd like to protest against implications of your statement. The distinguishing feature of the Balfour Declaration as contrasted with these documents cited, regarding the Arabs, is precisely its public, non-secret nature. Secondly, the Balfour Declaration was issued on behalf of the British cabinet and signed by the Foreign Minister of Great Britain, after consultation with the United States.

DR. HAZAM: Did any Arabs agree to it, Dr. Friedrich?

DR. FRIEDRICH: I'm not talking about the Arabs.

DR. HAZAM: Well, after all, they're the people that are involved; they are the people that own the country. Are you going to pass them around as pawns, from one group to another, without consulting them?

DR. FRIEDRICH: Not at all But they couldn't be consulted, because they happened to be under Turkish rule at that particular time.

DR. HAZAM: In other words, the British gave away Palestine to the Jews before they had conquered it themselves, while it was still in the hands of the Turks. They gave away something that didn't belong to them.

DR. FRIEDRICH: What do you mean "it didn't belong to them"?

DR. HAZAM: They hadn't conquered it at the time the Balfour Declaration was made.

DR. FRIEDRICH: They were engaged in a war. The Turks were their enemies. They could certainly try to gain an ally.

DR. HAZAM: They had already gained an ally, namely the Arabs. The Arabs were fighting there under the promises that they'd receive this area, and they won the war and took it.

DR. FRIEDRICH: I've already told you that promise is asserted by nobody but a few Arabs.

DR. HAZAM: The Arabs feel that anything they did not agree to, they cannot be held for. They didn't agree to the Balfour Declaration and they didn't agree to the mandates. Recently there was a statement issued by members of the Middle Eastern governments

to the effect that they would not tolerate any further immigration into the East, that they will hold England to the promise made in 1939.

DR. FRIEDRICH: I don't blame the Arab League the least bit for protesting against Jewish immigration to Palestine. It's about the only thing that holds them together.

DR. HAZAM: Well, I think that it is up to the powers of Europe to see to it that the plight of the Jews is rectified at the expense of the Christians who had created this plight in the first place, namely to put them in such places as are sparsely inhabited in the Western world or elsewhere.

DR. FRIEDRICH: You show that you have no comprehension of the democratic ideology because we are not going, like Hitler, to put the Jews somewhere.

DR. HAZAM: But you are doing that when you get them into Palestine . . . against the will of the people and by force.

DR. FRIEDRICH: We're asking the Jews where they want to go, and they say they want to go to Palestine and we help them to go there.

DR. HAZAM: Well, is it sentiment that's going to be the basis for the establishment of immigration laws? Suppose a lot of them want to come to this country. Do you have to change your laws, in order that you might bring them in, simply because they want to come in?

DR. FRIEDRICH: Most assuredly.

DR. HAZAM: Well, let's do it then. Let's take the 100,000 into this country.

DR. FRIEDRICH: But they haven't said they want to come here. They said they want to go to Palestine.

DR. HAZAM: Let our gain be the Arabs' loss. These people have skill; they have intelligence; and we want them.

DR. FRIEDRICH: Wait a minute—"we" as the Arab world, or as the United States?

DR. HAZAM: We, as the United States, I think; and we, as Americans generally, should take the position that is not hypocritical; not by forcing these people on others who don't want them, but by saying, "come over here and join us."

DR. FRIEDRICH: It isn't the question of forcing it on others. Palestine was established as a mandate, for the purpose of making it

possible for Jews to migrate to Palestine, as Churchill said, "as of right and not on sufferance."

DR. HAZAM: It was not established by the Arabs and the people who live in it.

DR. FRIEDRICH: I didn't say it was established by the Arabs.

DR. HAZAM: Those are the people that are important, after all. Wouldn't the people of the United States be important in considering whether people coming in from outside shall come in or not?

DR. FRIEDRICH: Well, the people of the United States, yes; in this case, the people of the United Nations, surely. This territory . . . you see, you're constantly making the assumption that this territory was Arab. Palestine has never been Arab; it was Turkish, and after it was Turkish . . . (BOTH SPEAK TOGETHER)

DR. HAZAM: The Arabs came into the area in the 7th Century; they've lived there from that day to this.

DR. FRIEDRICH: A territory doesn't become one thing or another because somebody migrates there.

DR. HAZAM: Territory belongs to the people who live in it, after all, and they're the ones who shall determine what shall happen to it—not some power outside. That is by rules and ethics. From the point of view of world peace, from the point of view of justice to these people, I mean the Arabs, the mandate system had been originally set up for the purpose of training these people for self-government. That system has been in operation for 25 years. It seems to me that, after 25 years, they've got the proper training and, therefore, they ought to be made independent. They've qualified for independence, not merely the Arabs in Palestine, but the Jews that are now there. The Jews in Palestine belong to Palestine, too. I would make a national state out of Palestine with the people now in it who would have their own laws, and decide their own immigration policies, including the Jewish immigrants that are there.

DR. FRIEDRICH: It's entirely impossible, because you would just have a general civil war. You can't just clear out of a territory that has been developed under international authority, because part of the population wants you to get out.

DR. HAZAM: Well, then the Brtish should have informed the people of the Near East regarding this at the time the mandate was made, that if we introduce a certain number of Jews into this

area, then we will not get out; we'll stay here permanently. What the British apparently are doing, as far as I can see, is to introduce enough Jews into this area to create a stalemate as between the Jews and the Arabs and maintain that stalemate, just as they've maintained a stalemate between the Moslems and the Hindus in India, saying: we can't get out, because these people are going to slaughter each other if we get out. That's the situation into which they've gotton both the Jews and the Arabs in the Near East. So that the only solution to this should be: give them their independence just as they are there now, both Arabs and Jews, and let them run their affairs independently.

DR. FRIEDRICH: Under present world conditions, you can't do that. International responsibilities cannot be chucked aside.

DR. HAZAM: Isn't that democratic, that the majority rules in a given area? The majority are two-thirds Arab; they'd been nine-tenths Arab down to 1917. Give them democracy and you will have solved the problem.

DR. FRIEDRICH: You're completely abusing democratic ideology. This country has never permitted the majority of Vermont to run away with the nation.

MR. COOKE: You come down to two arguments or distinctions on what is democracy. On the other hand, is it democracy to allow the Jews to go where they want to go, or, on the other hand, is it democracy to allow the Arabs to stay where they want to stay, alone?

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